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THE NEW TESTAMENT

OF OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST.

WITH A

COMMENTARY

CONSISTING OF

SHORT LECTURES FOR THE DAILY USE OF FAMILIES,

BY THE

REV. CHARLES GIRDLESTONE, M.A.

VICAR OF SEDGLEY, STAFFORDSHIRE.

PART I.

CONTAINING THE GOSPELS OF

ST. MATTHEW AND ST. MARK.

OXFORD,

PRINTED BY S. COLLINGWOOD, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,
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1832.

The parable of the vineyard and the husbandmen.

1 And he began to speak unto them by parables. A *certain* man planted a vineyard, and set an hedge about *it*, and digged a *place* for the winefat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country.

2 And at the season he sent to the husbandmen a servant, that he might receive from the husbandmen of the fruit of the vineyard.

3 And they caught *him*, and beat him, and sent *him* away empty.

4 And again he sent unto them another servant; and at him they cast stones, and wounded *him* in the head, and sent *him* away shamefully handled.

5 And again he sent another; and him they killed, and many others; beating some, and killing some.

6 Having yet therefore one son, his wellbeloved, he sent him

also last unto them, saying, They will reverence my son.

7 But those husbandmen said among themselves, This is the heir; come, let us kill him, and the inheritance shall be our's.

8 And they took him, and killed *him*, and cast *him* out of the vineyard.

9 What shall therefore the lord of the vineyard do? he will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others.

10 And have ye not read this scripture; The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner:

11 This was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?

12 And they sought to lay hold on him, but feared the people: for they knew that he had spoken the parable against them: and they left him, and went their way.

LECTURE 155.

That we should render unto God the fruit of righteousness.

It was the object of our Lord, in many of the parables which have been recorded in the gospels, to foreshew the rejecting of the Jews, and the calling of the Gentiles. We may conclude, therefore, that these are matters well suited for our frequent consideration. And in the present instance, we may first observe how sufficiently the Almighty always furnishes mankind, for the service He requires at their hands. The vineyard represents the great blessing, and the many privileges, of a Divine revelation, such as the Jews enjoyed. These were let out to them as to hire, entrusted to them on covenant, for certain fruits to be paid to the Almighty owner. They are furnished by his care with a hedge, a winefat, a tower; with all things necessary for the management and the security of the business committed to their charge. And it was "at the season," not till they were therefore able to pay, that they were required to make good their agree-

ment. So true and righteous are God's dealings with mankind, under every dispensation! So equitably does He demand of us no more, and so graciously does He accept of us through Christ, far less, than He has Himself enabled us to pay!

In the conduct of the husbandmen we have faithfully represented both the behaviour of the Jews under the law, and that to which Christians are tempted under the gospel. As those wicked men slew the servants and the son, when sent unto them with a just demand, so the Jews also put to death their Messiah; and so do we transgress, whenever we would take the benefit of gospel mercy, without fulfilling the precepts of gospel righteousness. We may not enjoy the privileges of the vineyard, without paying the prescribed rent. We may not take hold of the offer of mercy, whilst we refuse to present in return the fruits of repentance and faith, in all reverence, and holiness, and love. We cannot secure to ourselves the benefits of God's revelation, whilst we neglect to perform the duties it enjoins. We cannot share the knowledge of his will, and the opportunity of grace to fulfil it, without becoming liable, if we fulfil it not, to be visited in his wrath with the greater condemnation. 'This did our Lord very plainly tell the Jews of their covenant; intimating not only that they should be rejected, but that the Gentiles should be invited to supply their place. The lord of the vineyard should give it unto others; and that, for this very object, as is added in St. Matthew's account of this parable, that they should "render him the fruits in their seasons." Matth. 21. 41.

Those others are the Gentiles; and of the Gentiles, so privileged, are we. As Christians, as members of the holy catholic Christian church, we have let out to us for hire a vineyard, abundantly furnished with all means and helps, for rendering unto God the fruits of righteousness. And must we not be aware, with the Jews, that Christ hath spoken this parable in some measure against us? Do we feel no suspicion that it applies to our too eager clinging to God's promised mercy, our too thrifty payment of the service He demands? Do we never feel disposed to encroach on his goodness; to sin, on the strength of the pardon promised, instead of being moved thereby from thankfulness to love, and from love to zeal and to obedience? If thus we do, if thus we seek in all to profit for ourselves, and in nothing to repay our Lord, let us be aware that He hath spoken against ourselves the parable we have now been considering. Oh, whilst thus He speaks to us, may we have the grace to hear! Never like those whom He thus first addressed, who "left him, and went their way," never may we turn from the words of his reproof, to the ways of our own selfishness and sin! Never may we hear without conviction! Never be convinced, without grace to repent! Never repent without faith, believe without obeying, or obey without love to persevere unto the end!

ADVERTISEMENT TO PART I.

In this edition of the New Testament, it has been the chief object of the editor, to furnish masters of families with an exposition for daily reading, at the hour of domestic worship. With this view, he has consulted the many excellent existing commentaries on the Bible, and endeavoured to select from them the topics of most use for general edification. The Scripture is divided into paragraphs of a convenient length. And the explanatory and practical matter is digested, under each paragraph, into one consecutive lecture; so as to demand, of the reader, no previous pains and attention. This plan will, it is hoped, give additional facility to the reading and expounding of the sacred volume, in many families where the masters have neither leisure nor ability to select what they might best read, from more voluminous editions.

Part II, containing the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, will be put to press, as soon as there shall seem reason to believe that the work is likely to be useful. And for this purpose those persons, who are disposed to take it in, are requested, through their respective booksellers, to forward their names to the publishers, H. Parker, Oxford; H. C. Langbridge, Birmingham; Messrs. Rivington, London.

In the Press, by the same Author, price 5s. 12mo.

TWENTY PAROCHIAL SERMONS,

WITH AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING PAROCHIAL PAPERS.

On 31st March will be Published,

No. I. Price 2s. 6d. of

TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE,

FOR APRIL, 1832.

To be continued Monthly.

It has long been matter, both of surprise and regret, that, in Scotland, where the universal diffusion of education affords such facilities for the development of literary talent, and where the genius of the people naturally inclines them to inquiry and investigation, there should be no periodical organ, of liberal principles, appearing at intervals which admit of more matured discussion of public affairs than can be expected in the daily and weekly journals, and better adapted to take up questions of immediate urgency than the Quarterly Reviews. This desideratum is about to be supplied.

We do not offer to the public a Journal fashioned after the manner of those with which it is at present familiar. The ground upon which we propose taking our stand remains still unoccupied. The interests which we intend to advocate, and the objects to the accomplishment of which all our exertions shall be devoted, are of a kind which Magazine writers have hitherto, for the most part, neglected or shunned; some from caprice, others from incapacity, and more from a conceit that nothing would find favour with the readers of such periodicals except what had been distilled through the alembic of fancy, or etherialized by some process of the imagination. We, however, have come to a different conclusion, and have dared to think that truth is, after all, preferable to fiction; that the useful is not necessarily at variance with the agreeable; and that, after being long tantalized with airy nothings, and all manner of fantastical extravagancies, vagaries, and exaggerations, the public would receive with pleasure, and support liberally, a Journal conducted with a stern, unbending regard to utility alone, and devoted to the advocacy of whatever appears calculated to extend the liberties, to advance the interests, or to improve the condition of mankind. Drawing-room and holiday literature is well enough in its own place, and we are by no means disposed to quarrel with it. But a change has come over the spirit of the time; mighty questions have been stirred; deep interests have been created; vast masses of men, formerly inert and passive, have suddenly begun to heave to and fro with the force of a newly inspired animation; old things are passing away;—and while probably on the eve of great events, it has appeared to us not only desirable, but necessary, to provide an organ or vehicle through which the voice of a renovated people may be heard.

On these principles, and with these views, TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE is offered to the public. In its scope it will embrace Politics, Literature, Science, Economics, Legislation, and Jurisprudence; in short, every thing connected with, or calculated to advance, the improvement of Society. Of Reform it will be the fearless and uncompromising advocate,—of abuse, wherever it may lurk, or to whomsoever it may be profitable, the constant and merciless enemy. Some—we ought rather to say much—of the best intellect and

learning of the country has been secured for its service ; and in the list of its contributors will be found names of the highest distinction in letters. We have sought for talent wherever it was to be found ; in the search, we have been successful beyond our most sanguine anticipations ; and the Public may be assured, that all the resources and means which have been provided will be directed to the attainment of one grand object—namely, the good of THE PEOPLE. We are of no party but that of the country,—of no sect but that of truth,—under no influence except that of our unalterable principles, and swayed by no prejudice calculated to interfere with the honest discharge of our duty. Measures, not men, are what we shall either defend or condemn. Private character we shall ever account sacred. Public acts and public conduct are, of course, common property, and, as such, will be freely discussed and judged by us. With regard to the present Ministry, they shall have our support as long as they remain faithful to the reiterated pledges they have given to the country ; pledges which have identified them with the best hopes, and the most precious interests of this great nation, and which they are bound, by every consideration of honour, of policy, and even of safety, to redeem.

In the treatment of the various other branches of science and general knowledge, TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE will observe a similar course, and be conducted on principles as nearly as possible analogous to those which have just been described in reference to political discussion. Utility will ever be its first and greatest object,—strict impartiality its invariable characteristic,—active and searching industry the constant duty of all connected with its management. It will combine original composition on subjects of immediate or permanent interest, with critical disquisitions on languages, literature, science, and the arts, foreign as well as domestic. It will thus unite the properties of a Review with those of a Magazine, or Repository of useful information and independent discussion ; and it will also form a faithful record of the progress of the human mind in all those departments where the intellect and the enterprise of mankind seek to extend our knowledge or increase our power. But although we have resolved, if possible, to be useful, we have, at the same time, vowed not to be dull. We seek, above all things, to be instructive ; but we flatter ourselves we can also impart to our labours a degree of interest sufficient to conciliate even those who read only that they may be amused. There are no weeping philosophers in our corps. Democritus himself might have joined us, without compromising his character at Abdera. In the light of England's dawning liberty, and invigorated by the sunny spirit which it has already diffused, we approach our task, blithe, frolicsome, and good-humoured ; pleased with the happy prospects which have at length been opened up to the country, and prepared to defend, with joyous fearlessness, those principles which we have professed, and on the full recognition of which we devoutly believe that the best interests of our species depend.

Printed for WILLIAM TAIT, 78, Prince's Street, Edinburgh ;
SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, London ; and JOHN CUMMING, Dublin.
Orders received by all Booksellers throughout the Kingdom.

The announcement of TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE has been received in Scotland with a very general welcome. The following are among the notices of the Prospectus by the Scottish Newspaper Press :—

From the SCOTSMAN.

"It gives us very great pleasure to announce, that a desideratum long felt in the literature of Scotland is about to be supplied by the establishment of a Magazine, to be conducted on liberal and independent principles. The prospectus will be found in another column. Monthly publications, which unite literature with politics, morals, popular science, and the fine arts, will always have a number of readers; and it has been a subject of regret to a large proportion of such persons, that the only periodical of this description which they can find in Scotland, advocates political doctrines alien to their feelings and sentiments. Liberal opinions have their organs, both able and zealous, in the weekly and quarterly publications of this country, and it is fit that they should be represented in the monthly press too. No one, looking at the state of public feeling, and the growing intelligence of the country, can doubt that there is ample room for a liberal Magazine. What more, then, is wanting to its success? Two things, certainly, not of trifling moment,—a spirited publisher, and an able editor, supported by a corps of clear and well informed writers. Mr Tait's name, his experience, his capital, his well known skill and enterprise in his profession, are vouchers that full justice will be done to the Magazine in the one department; and, in the other, we know that it will start with the highest possible advantages,—that the services of an editor have been secured, who has already given proofs of a vigorous and versatile genius—that a great deal of varied talent has been enlisted in its support—and that neither money, zeal, nor labour, will be spared to place the publication on a footing which, if it do not command success, shall at least deserve it. But it must and shall flourish greatly, for all Scotland shouts approval of the scheme."

From the ELGIN COURIER.

"We defer several reviews this week, to advert to a new monthly periodical, about to be published. The prospectus is in circulation; and if the conductors only realize, as we have no doubt they will, the expectations which it must excite—which we know it *has* excited—the success of the work is beyond all doubt.

"We know nothing of a literary nature so much wanted at this moment in Scotland, as an able monthly Magazine, committing itself with liberal principles; and the marvel is, how this want has been so long overlooked by those who had it in their power to supply it. Perhaps it is well that it has been reserved for Mr Tait, to meet, in this instance, the wants and wishes of Scotland; for we know of no other bookseller in the country, combining in his own person, so many of the attributes necessary for meeting those wants and wishes with effect. A deep conviction of the truth and importance of the great principles of which his MAGAZINE is to be the fearless champion—enterprise, skill, capital, activity; these are qualities eminently possessed by Mr Tait, and must necessarily do the projected work every justice on the part of the publisher. It rests with the public to do *their* part. And do it, we know, they will. Consistency requires as much. They have given a hearty and effective support to liberal newspapers, while those of an opposite character have been suffered, some to languish and others to perish of want of patronage; and they will not fail to extend their fostering hand to a Magazine, identifying itself with the grand principles which Scotland has of late, with a voice of thunder, proclaimed to be hers.

"One feature in the projected work will, we are sure, be hailed with peculiar satisfaction. Its great characteristic is to be *Utility*. It is not, like too many of our current Magazines, to deal principally in airy nothings; to amuse its readers with shadows, while the substance is neglected. Its contents are chiefly to be such as will come home to our business and bosoms. It will be the zealous guardian of our purses and persons; the unflinching assertor of our rights and liberties. It will, in one word, be, in a sense peculiar to itself, the PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE.

"It is unnecessary to add, that light literature, though very properly occupying only a secondary place in TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, will not be wholly neglected. We are sure the solid will be judiciously blended with the light; the useful with the entertaining. Its contents will be varied: it will aim at providing something for every diversity of palate.

"The prospectus, we repeat, unfolds what is to our minds the *beau ideal* of a Magazine, calculated for the meridian of Scotland. It is a national undertaking: it deserves, and it shall have, national support."

From the SCOTS TIMES, (Glasgow.)

"If the Magazine is conducted with the same ability which is displayed in the prospectus, its success is certain."

From the DUNDEE ADVERTISER.

"The Liberals of Scotland will not lose the opportunity which Mr Tait, (a gentleman every way qualified for the task he has undertaken) has afforded, of freeing Scotland from the charge of not being able to support one Periodical, of the Magazine kind, on the Liberal or Whig side."

From the INVERNESS COURIER.

"The present aspect of affairs in Europe—the 'shaking of the dry bones' which is now going on—opens a most extensive and important vista to the present generation, and may be regarded as an epoch in the history of the human race. It is at this stirring time that Mr Tait proposes to take the field. He will start with a fair field, and the good wishes of thousands to cheer him on."

From the EDINBURGH OBSERVER.

"We refer to our advertising columns, for the prospectus of a new Magazine, which is shortly to be started in Edinburgh, under the auspices of Mr Tait. As it promises to be literary as well as political, and to embrace a wide range in some of the most interesting departments of human knowledge, we augur favourably of its success, and anticipate a great accession of intellectual enjoyment. We are quite aware, that, in Edinburgh alone, might be found powerful and varied talents, fully equal to the task of supporting a vigorous periodical; but we have reason to know, that Mr Tait will not confine himself to the resources of Edinburgh, or even of Scotland, but obtain the aid of first-rate writers from all quarters. In this he is assuredly right. The highest degrees of genius and talent are in the market, have their prices, and may be bought—and Mr Tait's well known activity and energy give assurance that nothing will be wanting on his part, to render the work successful; and thus, with all "means and appliances," there is every reason to believe, that such a Magazine, having something suited to the taste of every class of readers, and conducted with spirit and ability, will quickly command an extensive circulation, and secure for its enterprising publisher an ample remuneration."

From the FIFE HERALD.

"A deficiency in Scottish periodical literature, long and deeply felt by the liberal and graver portion of the community, is at length about to be supplied by the exertions of a spirited Edinburgh publisher. In times when politics were of less moment than now, we got on very passably with Blackwood, and easily pardoned his nonsensical ultra-Tory ravings, in consideration of that generous talent, and spirit of profound and far-seeing criticism, which used to dignify his pages. Of late, however, this has all but ceased; the well-spring of his humanity has nearly wasted itself, and become dried up; and month after month he stalks forth with the same face as of old, but a different heart. The thrilling notes of the poet have sunk before the roystering of the conservative; and instead of his moving and widely-sympathetic communings with the soul of universal man, we are presented, in exchange for our time and money, with tirades against reform and liberty, characterized by a *furore* truly Irish, and portraits of *REVOLUTION*—that favourite bugbear of the legitimates—in solemnity really ludicrous, and in quantity altogether nauseating. When the Reform Bill shall have passed, we doubt not Blackwood will mend, and become, in a great measure, himself again; but it is distinctly manifest, that a new era is opening upon us, and that wants are arising in the public mind, which a person of his principles and peculiar bent of mind never can supply. The subject of politics has, more than ever, become a serious business of every-day life; and the public need to be farther enlightened in regard of the grand conservative principles of commerce and general society, just in proportion to the greater extent of responsibility about to be laid upon them. Mr Tait has taken the field at a time which is in all respects one of transition; and if—as, from his prospectus, we cannot doubt—he shall shew himself capable of appreciating the true character of the approaching epoch, and of preparing his magazine to meet it, by the adoption of a seriousness and an earnest gravity of spirit—the careful analysis and exposition of all momentous questions bearing upon the public weal, and interesting to the public mind—as well as a determination to eschew the factitious trammels of party, to pursue and advocate truth solely for truth's sake, and thus to rest his appeal, not with the ephemeral agitations and fermenting passions of the moment, but the sober heads and sound hearts of his countrymen,—we promise him, not remuneration merely, but an immediate, an increasing, and a brilliant reward."

From the EDINBURGH ADVERTISER.

"*Tait's Magazine*, which is advertised in another column, enters the field with all the advantages which a spirited and respectable publisher, a great array of clever contributors, and a political crisis of unexampled interest, can confer upon such a work. Mr Tait's work is to be the organ of the *liberal* party, as it is styled; and there can be no doubt that it appeals to the feelings, and demands the support of a very large class of the community, which has hitherto had no such means of representing its sentiments in Scotland. To the politics of this work, it is more than probable that we shall only be able to present the most determined hostility; but so far as it shall prove a vehicle of the belles lettres, and give additional impetus to their cultivation in Scotland, we believe it may do much good."

Notices in a similar spirit have also appeared in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, Caledonian Mercury, North Briton, Glasgow Free Press, &c.

NOTICES BY ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS.

From the SPECTATOR.

"Mr Tait is quite right. Edinburgh ought to have a liberal Magazine."—"The principles of the New Magazine are of the right sort. We must needs think so, as they are also ours. They are for the many: Blackwood is for the few."—"We observe the newspapers of the North hail the expected birth as an event in which the whole Scottish nation is concerned."

From the BALLOT.

"The first talent in every branch of letters, we understand, is engaged in the work; which, we have every reason to believe, will deserve the warmest support of the friends of liberty. It will, indeed, take as high a stand, as a Northern Political and Literary Journal, as that excellent periodical, the Westminster Review, does in the South."

From the YORK HERALD.

"We of the liberal party have great pleasure in noticing that a champion of ours has entered the lists. It will be a matter of gratulation south, as it is already north of the Tweed, that Scotland will possess a Magazine, at once the organ and recorder of liberal and liberal opinions."

From the DURHAM CHRONICLE.

"It is with more than ordinary satisfaction that we have it in our power to announce, that a new and talented periodical is about to start into existence in the northern metropolis, under every circumstance calculated to render it in the highest degree efficient. It would be strange indeed, if, with resources so extended, and talents so eminent and so varied as those which it is likely to command, and the full tide of public opinion running in its favour, it should fail to become the most popular and influential periodical in the Scottish nation."

THE
BRITISH MAGAZINE,
AND
MONTHLY REGISTER
OF
RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL INFORMATION,
'PAROCHIAL HISTORY,
DOCUMENTS RESPECTING THE STATE OF THE POOR,
PROGRESS OF EDUCATION, &c.

EDITOR'S ADDRESS.

It seems only right that, at the outset of a new Magazine, its aim and object should be distinctly stated. In order to effect this purpose, it may be advisable to request the reader's attention to the following prospectus, which has been already widely circulated.

PROSPECTUS.

"The Magazine now presented to the notice of the public, differs, in some important respects, FROM ANY AT PRESENT IN EXISTENCE, While its chief aim will be undoubtedly to diffuse sound religious and moral information, it does NOT seek to be EXCLUSIVELY THEOLOGICAL; but will embrace other topics connected almost directly with public improvement. The education of the poor, their moral and religious condition, and their temporal wants, are objects of paramount interest, at present, both to the religious man and the politician. The Magazine will, therefore, embrace accounts of the plans devised for the improvement of both the spiritual and temporal condition of the poor, whether by societies (with reports of their proceedings) or by individuals, and will be open to communication on these important points. On all these subjects, as well as on religious matters,—on the STATE OF THE CHURCH AND CLERGY, as well as of other religious bodies,—it will seek to present FACTS AND DOCUMENTS. And on this ground it will hope for the patronage of the lovers of truth in all parties, political and religious. For TRUTH, in most of the points here alluded to, is only to be known by the careful collection, and careful examination of DOCUMENTS. All, therefore, who wish to know the truth, must wish for documents; and no one, whatever be his party, can wish to shrink from the inferences to which he may be conducted by them, or fear that these faithful guides (if rightly used) will ever mislead him.

"With respect to the PRINCIPLES adopted in the Magazine, the Proprietors feel that they could not gain credit with reasonable men by professing that the management is entrusted to persons having no fixed opinions on matters so important as those which will be treated of; they have, therefore, no hesitation in stating, that the Magazine is in the hands of persons BELONGING TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; nor in avowing their conviction, that while almost every sect has its journal, great advantage and convenience would arise to the members of the Church of England, if they, too, had their's; that is to say, if they had a journal which should not SEEK for discussions of matters

where churchmen differ; but rather give them a point of union on matters where they agree, and a means of promoting their common cause. But having said this, the Proprietors must add, that the Magazine will always be open to those who may wish to explain or defend themselves against any charges or accusations conveyed in its pages.

"They trust that THE CLERGY may find this Magazine an useful medium of communication on PROFESSIONAL matters, a medium which seems to them at present to be much wanted. They will endeavour, as far as possible, to give full accounts of all Meetings held on Religious Matters, as well as those for Benevolent Purposes, reserving to the Editor the right of making brief comments on any points which he may deem of consequence in the speeches reported.

"For the ORIGINAL matter, they can only say that they are prepared to spare no expense for the purpose of engaging able Contributors, and they take this opportunity of inviting Contributions. In addition to the points already adverted to, they hope very frequently to present their readers with BIOGRAPHIES of REMARKABLE RELIGIOUS CHARACTERS; and also with RECORDS of the MANNERS, FEELINGS, and HABITS of STUDENTS and SCHOLARS, as well as of DIVINES and RELIGIOUS MEN of past times.

"In conclusion, they invite notice to the following list of subjects, which they intend to comprehend in their MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENT:—

"1. Notices of the OLDEN TIME, in extracts from ORIGINAL LETTERS, or curious and scarce Works.—2. REVIEWS of new Books.—3. EVENTS of the MONTH, arranged under Counties, confined to matters relating to the Clergy, the Church, and the Poor.—4. ACTS of PARLIAMENT respecting Church or Poor—or moral and religious state of the Country, whole or abstracted.—5. TRIALS OF IMPORTANCE, referring to the same topics.—6. REPORTS of Religious Meetings, with Editor's remarks.—7. REPORTS of Meetings for BETTERING the CONDITION of the Poor.—8. DOCUMENTS of all kinds respecting Church Revenues, Poor's Rates, Emigration, Population, Religious and Benevolent Societies.—9. UNIVERSITY NEWS.—10. CLERICAL NEWS—Clergy Deceased, Married, Ordained, Preferred.—11. List of NEW BOOKS and Announcements.—12. STATE of the MARKETS for the Month, with prices.—13. STATE of the FUNDS—List of Bankrupts—List of Patents.—14. GARDENERS' CALENDAR for ensuing Month.—15. METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER for past Month."

The Editor wishes, first of all, to speak as to the religious and ecclesiastical portion of the work. There has been, for a long time, a complaint, if not generally, yet frequently expressed, by persons attached to the Church of England, that there is no magazine expressly dedicated to church interests and objects, while almost every sect and party has its own peculiar journal. To a certain degree, the editor admits the justice of these complaints. The church, indeed, has objects far too high and lofty to be furthered by any means so wholly inadequate as a magazine. It is the peculiar advantage of an established institution, that it assigns the duties which are to be performed, to individual hands, and does not leave them to be performed or neglected, just as it may suit the caprice of those who may be awake or dead to the

popular clamour or mania, or to the cry of the hour,—to such stimulus, in short, as a journal may give. Still farther than this, it does not leave to chance or the public the task of exhortation, of instruction or of rebuke, when these duties are neglected, but places that task in the hands best able to accomplish it. The editor, therefore, does not at all mean to say that a magazine can have the slightest power to effect good in this way, or that it ought to pretend to such power and influence; and he utterly disregards the suggestions of those who, having deliberately chosen one (the higher and appropriate) means of effecting their object, would, on every appearance of that want of perfect success which is the natural result of human frailty, resort, without hesitation, to another, a lower and very probably mischievous means of accomplishing their purpose; who would substitute, in short, irregular and predatory attacks for a fixed order of battle, chance prospects for well-weighed schemes, and stimulus for authority. But yet there are other matters connected with a great establishment, which, though of less moment than its primary objects, are yet of no slight concern, and are not provided for like them. To refute misrepresentations, to contradict falsehood, to clear up misconceptions, are objects of no little moment at all times, and more especially at this, when all their engines are set at work to attack the doctrines, the discipline, and the property of the church, and effect its destruction. These are objects which cannot be, which ought not to be, provided for in the formation of a great establishment; which ought to be, and may be, safely left to individual care and zeal, when there is a call for them. Now, on this point, it certainly seems that a journal, where there can be an union of strength, where they who cannot do all may each do what he can, is likely to do good service; and in proportion to the probability of such good, is the justice of the complaint, that such a journal does not exist. But, next to this, there is no doubt something to lament in the want of an organ by which the members and ministers of such a church as ours may have the means of communicating with one another the various schemes which they have tried for the forwarding of those objects which are left to their individual discretion, and the results of their experience. Nor must we leave out of the account, that there is perpetually occurring to the student and the observer, information which he would be glad to communicate, because others would be glad to receive, but which, perhaps, admits not of a separate publication, or which he has not the time or the means so to communicate. This last head embraces indeed a wide field. It would be absurd to say that the members and ministers of the church are to look to a periodical work for very recondite instruction, on the more systematic and higher points of church knowledge; but still, many single points, many passages, for example, in the Scripture, many passages in the liturgy, many insulated matters of doctrine and discipline, may be well and conveniently discussed in such a work. Some, through such a medium, may ask for that information which more deeply learned persons may supply, and a spirit of research may be thus cherished and fostered.

But, again, there are many subjects of the day of no small consequence, from the influence which they acquire over the public mind,

which positively require notice, and where discussion is absolutely necessary, to get at the truth, or to expose falsehood. It is only necessary, on this head, to enumerate the subjects which are even now agitating the religious world. Such are miracles of daily occurrence,—the speedy accomplishment of unfulfilled prophecies, the approach of the millennium, the gift of unknown tongues. Should these subjects, and the method in which they are treated, be left unnoticed by the sober Christian? Yet to treat of them in separate pamphlets is hopeless; for none but those written by men whose names are well known, ever command any considerable circulation.

It cannot be necessary to go more minutely into the religious subjects which it is proposed to treat of in this magazine, as the class to which they will belong is sufficiently pointed out, and minute specification is impossible.

But having noticed the subjects to be treated of, there comes the serious question as to the means of carrying on such a magazine. It must be remembered, that a religious magazine differs from all others in one essential point. Proprietors of magazines, no doubt, undertake them all with a view to profit; and in the case of general magazines, they will acquire such profit, if they can make their work attractive by means of engaging clever writers and producing striking articles. This is out of the question in a religious periodical. It can only be acceptable if it is useful; and it cannot be made useful merely by engaging writers who are either not engaged in professional duties, or who have no sincere interest in the welfare of the church. It can be made useful only by the full support of many individuals of the classes to which it is to be useful; for they alone know what information is wanted by these classes, and they alone can supply it. The editor does not mean in any way to say, that a religious magazine can be supported by *unpaid* contributors. On the contrary, for very many reasons, all original contributions must be paid for. The practical question is, therefore, whether those members and ministers of the church, and those laymen who have a sincere interest in its welfare, and who think that a periodical work like this will tend to promote that interest, will attend to the call that is now made to them. Many may be disposed to think such a periodical useless. And on such the editor admits that he has no right to call. But on those who hold a different opinion he does earnestly call for support and assistance, without which the project must fail. It cannot be denied that the friends of right principles pursue but too often a singular course for promoting them. If an undertaking is commenced which promises to answer that end, they nevertheless look only to its execution at the outset, forgetful of the difficulties which attend it. Either the publisher is too negligent or too forward in bringing it before the public, and so their zeal or their taste is offended. The work is too heavy or too light, too weak or too violent, too high-church or too low-church: and so contenting themselves with making objections and finding fault, where they should give advice, correction, and strength, they leave what might have been made into an useful instrument, to be starved for want of able contributors, or to become a firebrand and an organ of serious mischief, by falling into wrong hands. This

fastidiousness has been long a besetting sin of those who hold, and could maintain high principles. But this is not their only fault. They, like other men, are very much inclined to leave the labouring oar to other people's hands, and to plead occupation and want of leisure, as grounds for not assisting in what they confess might be serviceable. This plea will not serve at the present moment. They who can work well, are, no doubt, generally speaking, much and seriously engaged; but they are the only persons who can support a valuable undertaking; and, in times like these, they must be content to work even "beyond their power," for the sake of the cause they are engaged in: for a sacrifice is necessary to support every useful undertaking. The editor feels this so strongly, that he is willing to sacrifice so much at least of his time, for a season, as may be necessary to conduct this project—and he is therefore, perhaps, justified in calling on others to sacrifice something also. He makes this appeal to the friends of the church, in short, for their opinion on the advantage or necessity of such a work as this. If they see neither advantage in it, nor any call for it, let them withhold all assistance, and allow the project, as it then will, to drop, in which case all complaints about the want of such a work will, it is to be hoped, cease too. For it is vain to allege that there are faults in the management of a work as a reason for neglecting it. Faults there will always be; but if they are not faults of principle, they may be rectified by the counsel and assistance of friends, not by their standing by in coldness and indifference, and in a spirit of captious criticism, making minor faults a reason for refusing to have any connection with the work.

Let it be observed that the Editor is addressing here not clergy only, but those laymen too, who are accustomed to take an active interest in the affairs of the church; on them he calls especially to assist in one good work, that of inspiring other laymen with their own feelings, and in extirpating from their minds one great error, that of believing that *the church* means the clergy only, while, in fact, every true member of the church has just as deep an interest in its welfare and safety as the clergy themselves. 'The church,' says Mr. Le Bas, in his admirable *Life of Wiclif*, 'comprehends—the lay members as well as the spiritual orders.' The error of supposing that the church designates the ministers of religion only, 'exhibits the clergy as an order in whose preservation the rest of society have but a slight and ambiguous interest—' and 'places them in a most injurious disunion from the rest of the social body, with which, in truth, they should be indissolubly bound up. It should never be forgotten, that the ecclesiastical establishment alone does not constitute the church, and *that both the privileges and the responsibilities of churchmanship* belong to the laity as well as the clergy, according to the several opportunities and stations.' They who entertain right feelings on this point, will surely not lose the opportunity thus afforded them of doing all which these opportunities allow them to do. They will point out the necessity for an established church in such a state of society as ours, exhibit its tendencies and benefits on the one hand, and its requirements on the other, and then shew the value of our own establishment to all its members, and so excite a spirit of affectionate attachment and gratitude to an

institution which has been the source of so many blessings. Such persons too will feel the necessity for assisting in every way to expose the calumnies now cast upon the church, and to make that exposure known.

With respect to the principles on which this Magazine will be conducted, the Editor has already stated, that it is his earnest wish to avoid, as far as is possible and proper, those points on which churchmen differ. On the great questions connected more or less remotely with the origin of evil, there have been, and probably always will be, two parties in every church, as there were differing opinions on the same point, before Christianity came into the world. And each party probably always will have its own particular methods and instruments for defending and propagating the opinions which it holds. But it certainly does seem, that there are so many *common objects* which all can unite in promoting, so many *common enemies* and *common dangers* which all are concerned to oppose or avoid, especially at the present time, that an union of strength is highly desirable, if not necessary. The Editor does not mean to say that he has no opinion on the points alluded to, but he earnestly wishes to avoid the discussion of them here; and to open this work to receive the contributions of all who may feel the necessity of that union which he has sought to recommend and enforce.

It may be necessary to add a few words on another point. There are few subjects now so anxiously discussed as Church Reform, and it would be idle to expect that that subject can be avoided in a periodical work. Nor does the Editor desire it. He will only say, that he will not receive communications written in a *spirit of acrimony and abuse*, either against persons or practices. He will not allow, as he has seen with equal surprise and regret, very lately, in a very unexpected quarter, *undeserved* censure and complaint of the existing state of things, resting on grounds *falsely alleged*.

But where the spirit and feeling of suggestions for improvement are right, he can have no objection to admit them, though he may probably not think that they come from the *right quarter*,* and may be very little disposed to agree with them. He does not insist that the church is perfect, nor that something may not be feasible in the way of improvement; but he cannot agree in the common notion, that wherever a fault is proved, a change ought to follow. The only safe rule is to ascertain whether more good can be done at the expense of as little evil in any other way; for while man is man, there will not be perfection of good in any system, and there will be evil. The quantum of each is the only consideration for the practical man, though the theorist may amuse himself with schemes of perfectibility. The error with church reformers, like all other reformers, is this, that while they are aware that God has given to man some power of foresight, they are not aware how very small that power is. It is not given in vain, and man is, no doubt, bound to use it for his own improvement, and that of the system under which he lives. He may do so, if he will see and understand how far his powers will carry him, and where they stop. For example, improvement in the education of clergy is a mea-

* Viz., from those whose especial province it is to direct and govern the church.

sure of which human foresight can see the effect and the advantage; and a church is consequently bound to carry it to the utmost point. Again, the rigid exaction of duty from those to whom it is assigned, would be a step of which all can see the benefit; and a church ought to give her rulers the means and power to exact duty strictly, if they have it not already. Here (and there are many similar points) the ground is clear before us, our eye can carry us to the extent of it, and we are bound to effect improvements so clearly within our powers. But when we go beyond points within our compass, when we launch into the ocean without a pilot, and recommend indefinite change, solely because the existing system has faults; we mistake the nature of our faculties, and are as foolish, if not as criminal, in attempting what is beyond our power, as we should be for neglecting what is within it. Even a bad system cannot be altered at once with safety. Men cannot be torn asunder from their old habits with impunity; they will no more adopt new ones at once than flowers which we tear from the stem, will grow in the better soil in which it may please our wisdom to stick them. But where men and habits have gone on long together, the presumption with the real philosopher will be, that there is much in the system which is *not* bad, that for *other* reasons they ought not to be hastily separated; because a long union implies some mutual fitness, and because there is in man a correcting principle which always leads him, though not always in the same degree, to adopt what is suitable and advantageous to him.

All this, however, will in no degree indispose the Editor to receive any papers on the subject of Church Reforms. Holding the opinions which he has just stated, he is quite satisfied that, on the one hand, unwise projects should, in the present state of things, be discussed, that their folly may be seen and exposed; and, on the other, no one will rejoice more sincerely than himself, if any real and practical improvement can be suggested.

On the religious and ecclesiastical part of the Magazine, he will say no more than that he is inclined to believe that, besides the subjects of which he has spoken, good may be done, and pleasure given, by various indirect methods, not beyond the scope of such a work as this. Sketches of parochial history (of which the present number affords a beautiful example) may be made most valuable; and no inconsiderable light may be thrown on church history, by antiquarian researches into the manners and habits of past times.

To articles of this kind, as well as extracts from parish registers, illustrating history or custom, he will give ready admission.

On the other part of the scheme, it will not be necessary to say much. The religious improvement of the country is a matter so nearly connected with the plans devised for the amelioration of the temporal condition of the poor, that no place can be found fitter for the discussion of such plans, than a religious periodical. On Savings Banks, Friendly Societies, and the various charitable and benevolent schemes and societies for raising the character and condition of the poor, the Editor will gladly receive communications; and he feels the discussion of the present system of Poor's Rates a matter of such infinite moment

on the same ground, that he cannot object to receiving papers on that subject also.

On any and all these points, he earnestly requests to be furnished with *documents*,—the most cogent species of reasoning. For example, if the clergy had taken the trouble to make any clear and documentary statements as to their fees, houses, glebes, &c., could the present absurd falsehoods as to their riches have prevailed? If they had taken care to state clearly and fully, and bring constantly before the public eye, what has been done in the church in every way for the last twenty years, in building new churches, in dispersing the Scriptures and religious works, &c. &c., could the shameful calumnies, which are now circulated and believed as to their indolence, have ever gained credit? Doubtless all this is very odious; and if the times did not call for it, would be a very unworthy employment. But, situated as we now are, it is a duty to sacrifice our wishes and feelings, to take any measures for the support of our cause, which are not inconsistent with the rule of right, and to remember that these sacrifices *are* made for the good of the great cause which we are bound to support, and not for mean, trifling, or temporary purposes.

P.S. The Editor thinks it right, in justice to himself and to others to say how far his responsibility extends. He will feel himself answerable for the *general tenour* of the religious and moral opinions in the original articles.

For the opinions in communications and letters he will not be responsible, but will consider them as inserted for the purpose of exciting discussion. Of course, however, he will take care that nothing offensive to right feelings, nothing personal, and nothing acrimonious, shall find its place in this quarter.

For the *literary* opinions delivered in Reviews of books he will not be responsible. No one person can engage to read the books noticed in a monthly periodical, but the Editor will engage to place them in the hands of competent and impartial persons for the purpose of being reviewed. The notices of books will therefore, as far as matters of taste and literature go, be considered as the opinions of the most competent persons whom the Editor can find, but he will not pledge himself for them any farther.

Finally, the Editor will in no way be responsible for the steps taken by the Publishers to bring the work into circulation. He knows nothing of those steps, or of the necessity for them. For their propriety or impropriety, the Publishers, and not the Editor, will be answerable.

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OF THE
GAELIC EPISCOPAL SOCIETY,
INSTITUTED JULY, 1831,

FOR
Assisting the Gaelic Episcopal Congregations in the
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND,
BY THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF GAELIC SCHOOLS,
AND
THE SUPPORT OF GAELIC STUDENTS FOR THE MINISTRY,
AND OTHER GENERAL PURPOSES.

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The LONDON COMMITTEE desire to express their thankfulness for the success which has already attended their exertions in aid of the designs of the GAELIC EPISCOPAL SOCIETY, and for the assurance of further support which they have received. They are anxious, however, to circulate more widely information as to the objects of the Society; and they conceive the most effectual method of so doing, is by publishing an abstract from the first Report of the Edinburgh Committee which has just reached them.

The London Committee trust that in the course of the present year they may be enabled to further the designs of the Society to a considerable extent; and they confidently hope, that the appeal now made by them, will meet with due consideration from those who feel interested in the spiritual welfare of their poorer brethren united to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and anxious to impart to others a participation of those religious privileges which they themselves enjoy.

The London Committee beg that it may be distinctly understood that the Gaelic Episcopal Society entertains no feelings towards the Established Church of Scotland but those of the most perfect esteem, and deeply deplore that the efforts of the Parochial Ministers in the Highlands should be at the present time steadily, and in many cases too successfully, opposed by the Roman Catholic Priesthood. The Society's attention is *exclusively* directed to the destitute members of its own communion; its object being the establishment of Schools in those districts where large portions of the poorer classes continue steadfastly attached to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Episcopal Church; to prepare Students for the Ministry, and Catechists or Scripture Readers where ordained Ministers cannot be supported; and to circulate the Book of Common Prayer and other religious Works in the Gaelic language. It studiously avoids every thing which can give just cause of offence to those who direct the similar institutions of the Presbyterian Church, for wherever the Schools of the Establishment are so situated that the poor Episcopalians can conveniently attend, the Society thankfully avails itself of the facility, and in such circumstances thinks it necessary only to supply Catechists, and ordained Ministers otherwise as their funds may permit.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE PARENT SOCIETY,

in their Report, state that the degree of success to which, under the Divine blessing, the Society has already attained has surpassed their warmest expectations, and has given them a warrant to look forward confidently to a widening field of important and profitable labour.

At the outset of the Committee's operations, the Right Reverend Bishop WALKER recommended the Society from the pulpit of St. John's Chapel, and the Sermon preached on that occasion has since been printed, and extensively distributed. This measure was followed by sermons in the other chapels in Edinburgh, and elsewhere; and subsequently by the circulation of an Address, explanatory of the objects of the Society. The amount of the receipts during the year, including a sum of £70 transmitted from London, has been £514. The Committee regard such a sum, collected in the infancy of the Institution, as highly gratifying. At the same time, considering the various objects which the Society aims to accomplish, and especially the heavy annual expence which must attend the *education of Students for the Ministry*, and the permanent support of *Catechists and Schoolmasters*, in different districts of the Highlands, it became necessary to discriminate between that portion of the fund which must be regarded as casual donation, and that on which they could calculate as annual income; and although, therefore, the aggregate sum received during the first year appeared large, the Committee saw that as yet they were in possession of but a small

sum, on which they might venture to draw, in the shape of annual allowances. It has been determined, therefore, for the present, to regard donations, and congregational collections, as capital; the interest of which only, except in extraordinary cases, should be considered applicable to the regular objects of the Society's expenditure.

In the course of the last summer, the Secretary visited London, with the view of establishing an interest there in favour of the Society, and met with much friendly encouragement; for under the liberal and cordial patronage of many Prelates, and other distinguished members of the Church of England, an Auxiliary Society was formed.

The Committee report that a number of Gaelic Prayer Books, which were lying in sheets, have been bound, at an expence of £20, for distribution.

Measures have been adopted for the translation of a selection from the Homilies into the Gaelic language, the expence of which will be defrayed by the Prayer Book and Homily Society.

Two Students, under the patronage of the Society, and with the approbation of Bishop Low, have been placed with the Rev. Mr. Murdoch, of Keith, at the annual charge of £24 each, by whom they will be educated and trained for the Ministry, if they are found fitting for its arduous and solemn duties.

A Catechist has been placed at Arpafeelie, and another at Lochaber, with an annual salary of £15 each. The School at Arpafeelie has been put in proper repair, as the Catechist employed there is to act as Schoolmaster also in the district.

In conclusion, the Committee express their confidence, that even with its present moderate means, the Society will operate as a fostering influence over the scattered congregations in the Highlands, to cherish among them a warmer attachment to their religious principles,—to assure them of the cordiality with which the whole communion is bound together in one common and affectionate interest,—and, by friendly encouragement, to call forth and mature the rising talents and piety of each district, in maintaining the cause of true and undefiled religion in that scriptural and apostolic division of the Catholic Church with which the Society is in principle associated.

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| Somerville, Right Hon. Lord | 5 0 0 | |
| Sale, Rev. T. <i>Southgate, Middlesex</i> | | 0 10 6 |
| Sawbridge, Miss | 1 0 0 | |
| Sharpe, Rev. L. A. <i>Fellow of St. John's, Oxford</i> | 1 1 0 | |
| Sheppard, Miss, <i>Compton, Bristol</i> | 1 0 0 | |
| Thompson, Rev. G. H. <i>Tottenham</i> | 1 1 0 | |
| Thornton, E. N. Esq. | 1 1 0 | |
| Thorowgood, F. Esq. <i>Islington</i> | | 1 1 0 |
| Tomlinson, Rev. George | 1 1 0 | |
| Turner, Sharon, Esq. | | 1 1 0 |
| T. G. | 0 5 0 | |
| Winchester, the Lord Bishop of | | 3 3 0 |
| Wallace, Rev. J. L. <i>Edmonton</i> | 1 0 0 | |
| Walsh, Rev. J. H. A. <i>Warminster</i> | 2 2 0 | |
| Watson, Joshua, Esq. | 5 0 0 | |
| Welby, Mrs. by the Rev. J. H. Gray | 1 0 0 | |
| Wilson, John Broadly, Esq. | 5 5 0 | |
| Wilson, Rev. Daniel, <i>Vicar of Islington</i> | | 1 1 0 |
| X. Y. | 0 5 0 | |
| Young, Captain R. N. | 1 0 0 | |

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It is requested that all communications relative to the Society, may be addressed to the Secretary, Winchmore Hill, Middlesex.

CALUMNIES

OF THE

RECORD NEWSPAPER REFUTED

IN SEVERAL LETTERS

ADDRESSED TO THE PUBLISHER

OF THE

COMPREHENSIVE BIBLE

BY

A CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

LONDON;

PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BAGSTER, PATERNOSTER ROW,
BY HIS SON, 14, BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE.

M.DCCC.XXXII.

Price Sixpence.

Extract from the Record newspaper, of Monday, December 16, 1831.

"To Correspondents.

"We hope, *during the recess*, to insert the Rev. Mr. Boys' letter, last received. We have doubts as to the expediency of inserting his former one, which has been for a considerable time in our hands. We shall prefer, we believe, making use of the information it contains, which we shall do in a very short compass, but we trust with the desired, and probably with fuller effect."

Extract from the leading article of the Record newspaper, of Monday, January 16, 1832.

"We beg to direct the attention of our readers to the article on the *Comprehensive Bible*, which, in redemption of our pledge, is inserted in another column."

* * * This confederation of purpose between the Editor and the Rev. Mr. Boys is worthy of notice. See the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER of November last, and the article *Boys versus Greenfield* in the ECLECTIC REVIEW of October.

ADVERTISEMENT.

PREVIOUSLY to the fatal illness of the late Mr. Greenfield, the Proprietor of the Comprehensive Bible had prepared a reply to the repeated attacks made upon that work and the character of its pious and accomplished Editor, more especially in the Record Newspaper. His purpose was suspended in consequence of Mr. Greenfield's illness. In his last collected moments, that most amiable man expressed his forgiveness of his cruel persecutors, and, with a meekness and sweetness which came warm from his heart, deprecated the appearance of any defence that might seem to indicate excited feelings or a controversial spirit, and entreated that nothing might be published without his knowledge. The design was laid aside, partly in deference to this disinterested and Christian wish, and partly from a hope that the death of Mr. Greenfield would put a stop to the system of unfair criticism adopted by his opponents. The Editor of the Record, however, has lately renewed, in his own character, the warfare upon the orthodoxy and integrity of one who is no longer able to answer for himself. Several columns of his Paper have been occupied with slanderous and unfounded remarks on the character and religious sentiments of the late learned Superintendent of the Translating Department of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and these attacks must painfully operate to defeat the effect of the appeal made to the public in

behalf of the widow and children of the deceased. Under these circumstances, the Proprietor of the Comprehensive Bible felt that he ought no longer to maintain silence ; but he had not decided on the steps proper to be taken, when he received, most unexpectedly, and from a quarter wholly unknown, the first of the ensuing letters, (under the signature of “Clericus,”) the occasion and design of which will speak for themselves. Having obtained the permission of the writer, he is induced to lay the entire series before the public without any further comment, satisfied that the cause of Truth must ultimately prevail, and that all impartial readers will form but one opinion respecting the Record. To withhold the letters with which he has been thus spontaneously furnished, would be an act of injustice to Mr. Greenfield’s memory, and an injury to the interests of those whom he has left to mourn his premature death.

The following extract of a letter from Oxford, will show the injury which has been already inflicted on those who have been bereaved of their best earthly friend.

“ Oxford, Feb. 8, 1832.

“ DEAR SIR,—I received your small parcel of papers of the subscription for poor Greenfield. With great pleasure I shall do what I can in recommending the cause of the widow and orphans of such a man. But I fear the slander concerning his orthodoxy will operate in some measure to suppress the benevolence which the family of such a man should excite.”

CALUMNIES OF THE RECORD REFUTED.

LETTER I.

SIR,

January 19, 1832.

The strictures which appeared in the *Record* Newspaper of Monday, January 16th, on some passages in the *Comprehensive Bible*, are so palpably unjust, that I feel compelled to address a few lines to you, in the hope that you will take some speedy method of exposing the ignorance, the disingenuousness, and dishonesty of the editor of that journal. Though I had no personal knowledge of the late Mr. Greenfield, and though I cannot subscribe to all his sentiments as they *are made to appear* in the *Record*, yet I will undertake to prove that the charges of Neology, which have been brought against him, might with equal propriety be applied to some of the most approved writers in our language. I would seriously recommend you to publish, in opposite columns, those passages which have been condemned in the *Record*, and a few extracts to which I shall now call your attention.

Passages in the Comprehensive Bible censured by the Record.

Gen. xix. 24.—“The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, &c. We may safely suppose,” says Dr. A. Clarke, “that a shower of nitrous particles might have been precipitated from the atmosphere, here, as in many other places, called heaven, which, by the action of fire, or the electric fluid, would be immediately ignited, and so consume the cities.”

See the note itself.

[The word rendered *brimstone*, (q. d. *brennestone*, or *brinncstone*, id est *burningstone*,) is always rendered by the L.L.X. ‘*sulphur*,’ and seems to denote a meteorous inflammable matter. ‘We may safely suppose,’ says Dr. A. Clarke, ‘that a shower,’ &c.]

Gen. xix. 26.—“But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt.”—“Tarrying too long in the plain, she was, most probably, struck dead with lightning, and stiffened in the place where she stood; while the nitro-sulphureous matter which descended, or the asphaltus, which

Passages in Horne’s Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures.

“It is highly probable that the plain in which they (the devoted cities) stood, was at some earlier period subjected to volcanic revolutions. Nothing further then was necessary than to set on fire the bitumen, sulphur, &c. that was in the bowels of the earth, which ravaging with violent fury, an earthquake ensued, and vent being given to the subterraneous elements, a torrent of melted matter was poured forth, that, descending into the plain, carried destruction to its inhabitants, cities, villages, &c.;—the quantity of sulphur, pumice, and ashes, poured by the volcano to an immense height in the air, on falling, might, with strict propriety, be said to have been *rained from heaven*. SEE Psalm xi. 6.” Vol. iii. p. 73, 74. 3rd edition.

“Remaining in a lower part of the valley, and looking with a wistful eye towards Sodom, she was surrounded, ere she was aware, by the lava, which rising and swelling, at length reached her, and while the volcanic effluvia deprived her of life, incrusting her where she stood; so that being as it were embalmed by

Passages in the Comprehensive Bible censured by the Record.

abounds in the plains, encrusted her, and being, as it were embalmed, she became a salso-bituminous mass or pillar."

2 Kings xix. 35.—"The angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, &c."—"This angel or messenger was probably the simoom, or hot pestilential wind, which is so frequent in eastern countries, and often destroys vast numbers in a moment."—

Quoted from Thevenot's Travels.

The Record adds, "The fact is, that the simoom never wafts its pestilential gales in the NIGHT!"

The editor of the Record deems the following "an infidel passage:"—"The only sensation he (the prophet Ezekiel) affects is the terrible. His sentiments are sometimes bordering on indelicacy; his language is grand, solemn, &c."

The whole passage is printed in the *Appendix*, p. 23.

I could enlarge, but at present I shall notice only the following ill-natured remark on a quotation from Horace:—"Sometimes the useless display of learning (by Mr. Greenfield) occasions remarks not merely puerile, but pernicious; for example, at Psalm xli. 1—3, it is said, Horace has a similar fine sentiment, *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae*.† Now here Horace's vain-glorious boast, as to the upright and resolute stoic, is put on a par with the fact, that God is our refuge and strength."—*Record*.

What will this modern Zoilus say of the following quotation from one of Archbishop Leighton's Sermons:—"Oh, the blessed, the high condition of a soul set on God, untied, independent from all things beside him, its whole dependence and rest placed on him alone, sitting loose to all the world, and so not stirred with the alterations, yea, the turning upside down of human things. If the frame of the heaven and earth were falling to pieces, the heart founded on him that made

Passages in Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures.

the salso-bituminous mass, she became a conspicuous beacon and admonitory example to future generations."*—*Vol. iii. p. 74.*

The Psalmist evidently alludes (Psalm ciii. 15, 16,) to the desolating influence of the simoom, which was unquestionably the blast that destroyed Sennacherib in one NIGHT. *Vol. iii. pt. 1.* The greatest of all the calamities of this country, is this pestilential blast—which rarely lasts more than seven or eight minutes, but so poisonous are its effects that it instantly suffocates those who inhale it. *Thevenot* mentions such a wind, which, in 1658, suffocated 20,000 men in one NIGHT. *Vol. iii. pt. 1.*

"He (Ezekiel) is deep, vehement, tragical; the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible; his sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific; sometimes, almost to disgust."—*Quoted from Bishop Lowth, with approbation, by Mr. Horne, vol. iv. p. 217.*

* Bps. Patrick and Wilson give a similar paraphrase on this text.

† The Record makes the most woeful blunders in quoting Latin and Greek. The passage in question is thus printed: "*Si fractus illabatur orbis imparidum ferient minæ!*" A few days ago another sentence from Horace was thus mangled: "*Se te fabula narrator,*" instead of "*De te fabula narrator.*" I strongly suspect that these errors are not to be laid entirely to the charge of the compositor.

it, abides unmoved, the everlasting arms are under it and bear it up.
Si fractus illabatur orbis, &c.—*Sermon 22.*

The Archbishop introduces the same quotation in another Sermon entitled, "The Believer a Hero." He, and many other excellent authors whom I could name, abound in similar applications of the ancient classics. I make these remarks entirely on public grounds, and with a view to rescue the memory of Mr. Greenfield from the obloquy cast upon it by a dishonest Journalist. I object to many of Mr. Horne's interpretations; but I think it unfair that poor Greenfield should be called a neologist, for merely quoting from writers who are looked up to as standards both in England and America.

Yours faithfully,
 CLERICUS.

After the Receipt of this Letter an Advertisement was inserted in the following Number of the Record.

TO "CLERICUS."

The Clergyman who addressed a letter to a bookseller in Paternoster Row, dated the 19th instant, is by him particularly requested to communicate his name and address; or, open a channel by which that bookseller can convey one letter to "CLERICUS."

LETTER II.

SIR,

January 24, 1832.

I am sorry you should have been put to the expense of an advertisement in the Record, on account of the few observations which I took the liberty of addressing to you last week; and I now beg to inform you, that a letter directed to "Clericus, Post Office, *****," would be conveyed to me. I should willingly give you my name and address, if I thought it would answer any good purpose; but I have an objection to involve myself in a public controversy of any kind, and must therefore be allowed to remain unknown for the present. At the same time, I do hope you will not suffer the *ill-natured hyper-criticisms* of the Record to pass unrebuked. I was deeply affected with the account of Mr. Greenfield's death, though an entire stranger to him, and felt that I was only doing an act of justice to a calumniated servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, in putting into your hands the extracts contained in my letter.

Believe me, SIR, faithfully your's,
 CLERICUS.

LETTER III.

SIR,

January 27, 1832.

In addition to the extracts which I have already forwarded to you, I think it of importance to put you in possession of the following, which I shall intermingle as before with the criticisms of the Record for January 16th:—

EXTRACT FROM THE RECORD.

"To give one more instance from the prophetic books of the irreverent manner in which the Word of God is treated in Bagster's Bible, take the concluding remarks on Malachi. It is said, on the authority of Lowth, to be 'written in a kind of middle style, which seems to indicate that the Hebrew poetry, from the time of the Babylonish captivity, was in a declining state, and having passed its prime and vigour, was then fast verging towards the debility of age.' Now, we will only ask, where is the Christian, who will stand forth to vindicate such language?" &c.—*Record*.

Passages in the Comprehensive Bible censured by the Record.

JOSH. vi. 26.—This is said to be "a strange execration," and then the curse of Agamemnon on those who should rebuild Troy is brought forward as somewhat parallel to Joshua's inspired denunciation against the builder of Jericho. "Such execrations," it is added, "were not unfrequent in ancient times."

The note is given in full in the Appendix, p. 21.

"How continually is the inspiration of Scripture treated by the Comprehensive Bible as a mere figure of speech? The illustration, Dan. iv. 25, from Dr. Mead, of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity and his being driven out from men, and dwelling among the beasts of the field, by the following reference to Virgil, 'Virgil says of the daughters of Prætus, who are related to have been mad, *Implerunt felois* mugitibus agros, &c.*, with mimic lowings they filled the fields,' seems to put the authority of the wonderful execution of the judgment denounced by Jehovah upon the haughty king of Babylon, on a par with the mythological records of heathen poets."

* Improved reading adopted by the Record instead of *falsis*.

The Rev. Hartwell Horne, in his Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures, quotes this very passage from Bishop Lowth with APPROBATION! See vol. iv. p. 225. In the Appendix, p. 24, the remarks on Malachi are printed in full.

Passages in Horne's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures.

"It was not unusual in remote antiquity to pronounce a curse upon those who should rebuild a destroyed city. Thus Joshua denounced a curse upon the man who should rebuild Jericho . . . In like manner Cræsus uttered a curse on him who should rebuild the walls of Sidene which he had destroyed! and the Romans also, upon him who should rebuild the city of Carthage."—Vol. iii. p. 206.

"Concerning the nature of Nebuchadnezzar's malady learned men are greatly divided; but the most probable account of it, is that given by Dr. Mead, who remarks that all the circumstances of it as related by Daniel, so perfectly agree with hypochondriacal madness, that to him it appears evident, that Nebuchadnezzar was seized with this distemper, and under its influence ran wild into the fields; and that fancying himself transformed into an ox, he fed on grass in the manner of cattle. . . . And through neglect of taking proper care of himself, his hair and nails grew to an excessive length, by which the latter growing thicker and crooked, resembled the claws of birds. Now, the ancients called persons affected with this species of madness *λυκανθρώποι*, (*wolf men*), or *κυνανθρώποι*, (*dog-men*); because they went abroad in the night imitating wolves or dogs." . . . In like manner are the daughters of Prætus related to have been mad, who, as Virgil says, "*implerunt falsis mugitibus agros.*" Vol. iii. p. 476.

Passages in the Comprehensive Bible censured by the Record.

“Many think that St. Jude had seen St. Peter’s epistles, and in order to add his testimony to the same effect, sometimes *copied his sentiments and even words*. This, however, is wholly uncertain, and very improbable, for the same spirit of prophecy *might* lead these two witnesses to oppose the corrupters of Christianity by similar arguments, examples, and illustrative expressions, without either of them knowing what the other wrote.”*

“The quoting of the above sentiment, which appears to me to nullify the idea that both apostles wrote as *they were moved by the Holy Ghost*, and then in shewing its great improbability, using only the hypothetical word *might*, strikes me as very objectionable.”—*Record*.

Passage from Scott’s Commentary.

“Many think that they both had access to some ancient book which is now lost, and that they quoted from it; and likewise that St. Jude had seen St. Peter’s epistle; and, in order to add his testimony to the same effect, adopted several of his thoughts, and even expressions. This, however is uncertain: for the same spirit of prophecy *might* lead these two witnesses to oppose the corrupters of Christianity by similar examples and illustrations, without either of them knowing what the other wrote.”—*See Scott’s Commentary, Introduction to the Epistle of St. Jude*.

The criticiser was most unlucky in selecting the above quotation as a fit subject for his denouncing pen. Little did he suspect that he was pressing the venerable THOMAS SCOTT into the ranks of Neologists.

Mr. Greenfield is severely censured for quoting a line of Horace in connection with the 46th Psalm. Has the Editor of the Record ever read Mr. Mason Good’s Translation of the book of Job? The notes to that work are *crowded* with quotations from the classics in illustration of the sacred text; and so are the notes to his Translation of Solomon’s Song. MANY of the puritan divines are equally *profane*. Mr. Flavel† makes the following remark on Psa. cvii. 26.—“They mount up to the heavens, they go down to the depths.”—“A lofty hyperbolical expression; very near unto it is that of Virgil,

“Tollimur in cœlum curvato gurgite, et idem
Subducta ad Manes imos desidimus unda.”

Again, the same author observes,—“Oh remember, this was one of the inducements that persuaded and invited him (Christ) to take your nature, that he might be furnished abundantly with tender compassion for you, from the sense he should have of your infirmities in his own body.”

“Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.”—*Virg.*

I could add *many* examples of the same kind from Dr. Owen, and other writers among the early nonconformists; but the above will be quite sufficient to show the folly of the Record’s animadversions.

Were we to adopt the Record’s canon of criticism, we might easily prove that many observations in Scott’s Commentary and in Mr. Horne’s popular work, are neological in their tendency. Take the following passages in Scott as examples:—

* The whole of the Introductory Remarks to Jude’s Epistle, would have been copied into the Appendix, to save our readers the trouble of reference, but as our space is quite full, we must request them to turn to their Comprehensive Bibles.

† See Flavel’s “Seaman in a Storm, and “The Fountain of Life,” Sermon 18.

Num. xvi. 32, "And the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up," &c. "It is *probable* that Korah was swallowed up with Dathan and Abiram, and their families, though some think that he perished by fire."—Scott's Commentary.

Ex. xiv. 24, 25, "And it came to pass, that in the morning watch, the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians, through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians," &c. "It is *probable* that there was a tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, and other dreadful appearances, which concurred with an inward influence on their minds to trouble and dismay them."—Scott's Commentary.

"Much has been written concerning the different degrees of inspiration with which the prophets were endowed; but I own I never found satisfaction in any discussion of this subject. Certainly the Scriptures intimate *some disparity* between Moses and other prophets, and several ways in which divine communications were made."—Scott's Introduction to Isaiah.

"Ezekiel's style exactly answers the character the Greek rhetoricians give of that part of oratory they call *δεινωτικ*. Rapin calls Ezekiel's style *le terrible*." Quoted from Bishop Lowth by Scott.

Of the prophet Micah the same writer says,—"His style has been much admired by the best judges; but it is occasionally obscure, through conciseness, and sudden transitions from one subject to another." "The fame of Jonah's deliverance appears to have spread among the heathen nations; and the Greeks, who were accustomed to adorn the memory of their heroes by every remarkable event and embellishment which they could appropriate, afterwards added to the fictitious adventures of Hercules, that of having continued three days without injury in the belly of a dog, sent against him by Neptune." Quoted by Scott from "Gray's Key."—*Introduction to Jonah*.

I have no room for more than one quotation from Mr. Horne.

1 Kings xvii. 14, "Elijah was supplied with bread and flesh every morning and evening for a whole year." "*How can such a long and careful attendance be ascribed to ravens?* It is therefore most likely that some of the inhabitants of Oreb or Orbo furnished the prophet with food, being specially and divinely directed so to do."—*Horne's Introduction*, vol. i. p. 639.

Though I have felt it my duty to offer my remonstrance against the unjust accusations of the Record, I again wish it to be understood, that I do not approve of every one of Mr. Greenfield's annotations referred to in that journal, particularly the notes on Prov. vi. 25,* and Isaiah xxxviii. 8.† I state these objections seeing only the quotations

* The note is given in the *Appendix*, p. 21. It is from Waring's Travels, and is on the Eastern custom of painting the eyelids. It is *not in good taste*, but no point of doctrine is involved therein.

† The publisher subjoins three notes unabridged, that the subject may be fully exhibited. Josh. x. 12; 2 Kings xx. 11: Isaiah xxxviii. 8.

"Joshua doubtless acted on this occasion, by an immediate impulse upon his mind from the Spirit of God. It would have been *improper* either that he should speak, or that the *miracle* should be recorded, according to the *terms of modern astronomy*. The sun appeared to the Israelites over Gibeon, and the moon over the valley of Ajalon, which is supposed to have been situated in a different direction: and there they appeared to be stayed in their course for 'a whole day;' either for the space of about twelve

and representations in the Record, for I am not in possession of the Comprehensive Bible, and therefore am not able to ascertain the correctness of the quotations and representations, nor give an opinion of its general merits.

My object in these remarks has been to vindicate an innocent man from the slanders of a CONCEITED TYRO in theology and Biblical criticism. Should you be induced to publish them in any shape, I trust that the Latin quotations will be correctly copied. I answered your advertisement on Tuesday last, and requested that your letter might be directed to "Clericus, Post Office, *****," but I have not received it yet.

I am, your's, &c.

CLERICUS.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

Feb. 1, 1832.

I fear that your kindness has led you to attach too much importance to the letters which I have lately addressed to you; and though I am exceedingly obliged to you for the contents of your parcel, I feel scrupulous about accepting your very splendid present, especially as I do not consider myself entitled to it in any way, and I am sure you must have sustained a heavy loss, in consequence of the animadversions of the Record. Will you allow me therefore to return the Comprehensive Bible, after I have given it a cursory perusal? I will take particular care of it, until I have an opportunity of sending it back without injury. On examining the notes, I am more than ever convinced of the gross injustice of the Record, and it appears to me that you are in possession of sufficient materials to refute his calumnies *in the most triumphant manner*. Mr. Benham's pamphlet is ably written, and the defence is complete, as far as it goes; but the generality of readers would not give themselves the trouble of weighing his arguments. You want something more concise and more pointed.

or fourteen hours, or for the time of one diurnal revolution. Many inquiries have been made concerning *the way* in which this *miracle* was wrought, and many difficulties and objections have been urged against understanding it *literally*. But the *fact is authenticated by the Divine testimony*; and the *manner* in which it was accomplished, lies entirely out of our province, because beyond our comprehension."—Josh. x. 12.

"What these *degrees* were, or how dials *were then constructed*, is wholly uncertain. It is probable that this miracle was effected by refraction, rather than by arresting the motion of the earth."—2 Kings xx. 11.

"Or, as the Hebrew might be rendered, 'the steps of Ahaz.' The researches of curious travellers, in Hindostan, observes Bp. Stock, have lately discovered in that country, three observatories of similar form, the most remarkable of which is to be seen within four miles of Delhi, the ancient capital of the Mogul empire. A rectangled triangle, whose hypotenuse is a staircase, (apparently parallel to the axis of the earth,) bisects a zone, or coping of a wall, which wall connects the two terminating towers at right and left. The coping itself is of a circular form, and accurately graduated, to mark, by the gnomon above, the sun's progress before and after noon. According to the known law of refraction, a cloud, or body of air, of different density to the common atmosphere, interposed between the gnomon and the coping, or dial plate below, would, if denser, cause the shadow to ascend the steps on the coping by which it had gone down, and if rarer, a contrary event would take place."—Isaiah xxxviii. 8.

Let it be shewn that the passages condemned in the Record as neological, are little more than extracts from Scott, Doddridge, Hartwell Horne, and other standard authors, and the critic will soon be obliged to lower his crest. I must positively decline having any communication with the Editor of that paper. He would probably reject my letter altogether, on the ground of its neological tendency! or insert only those parts which might be deemed most inoffensive, and which he might turn to his own purpose. This is the way in which he has lately served the Rev. John Scott of Hull, who wrote to him about the new Bible Society. If you think it worth while to publish a short review of his late criticisms, in the shape of a circular, or in some other form, I shall be glad to make a new arrangement of the extracts already forwarded to you, with a few prefatory remarks. Were these extracts fairly before the public, the Record would be *compelled* to notice them, for his own credit's sake; and it would then be out of his power to make any garbled statements. Should this proposal meet your views, perhaps you will have the kindness to return my *first* and *third* letters, as they were both written *currente calamo*, and I have not a copy of either. I must request as a particular favour that you will let me pay the postage of them.

I sincerely sympathize with you under the trouble and vexations of which you complain, and trust they may yet prove spiritual blessings, and be followed with the "peaceable fruits of righteousness."

Believe me, very faithfully yours,

CLERICUS.

What I have seen of "The Pillar of Truth" pleases me much, and I confess to you that I am almost ready to weep when I consider the circumstances of the author's death.

One of the notes severely reprehended by the Record is quoted verbatim from Doddridge. Scott has part of the same quotation in his Commentary! This is really too bad.

LETTER V.

SIR,

Feb. 8, 1832.

The more I examine the animadversions of the Record, the more I am convinced of their extreme unfairness; and were I disposed to pursue the subject, I could easily shew that the editor is utterly incompetent for the task which he has taken in hand, for it is quite evident that he has not yet studied the most ordinary writers on Biblical criticism. The following note of Mr. Greenfield, on Ps. 118, is condemned as neological: "It largely partakes of David's spirit, and every where shews the hand of a master: the style is grand and sublime; the subject noble and majestic." If the Record would be consistent with itself, must it not pass a similar censure on a remark of Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xiv. 21, &c., *quoted by Scott in his Commentary, who says,*

"I believe it may with truth be affirmed, that there is no poem of its kind, extant in any language, in which the subject is so well laid out, and so happily conducted with *such a richness of invention*, with such a variety of images, persons, and distinct actions, with such rapidity and ease of transition, in so small a compass as this ode of Isaiah."

Mr. Greenfield observes on Ps. 119, "It is an elegant, important, and useful composition: the chief subjects of which are the excellence of God's laws, and the happiness of those who observe them."

"Who," exclaims the Record, "can read without painful indignation such a desecration of this beautiful portion of Holy Writ!"

"It is generally allowed," says Mr. Scott, "that David *composed this highly instructive Psalm.*" Again, "He meditated on the excellence of God's laws, and the happiness of those that kept them." See Scott's Commentary, Ps. 119. The last observation is quoted from Bishop Patrick.

This newspaper critic occasionally shews a lamentable want of principle, and an utter disregard of the golden rule enjoined upon us by our Lord Jesus Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them."

Passages in the Comprehensive Bible censured by the Record.

"The same spirit," the Editor of the Record remarks, "distinguishes the New Testament annotations. Take for example, the two following instances, as given by the Rev. Mr. Gipps:—John xviii. 4,—'The heroic behaviour of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . who does not see infinitely more fortitude in our Lord's conduct on this great occasion, when this circumstance, so judiciously, though modestly suggested by St. John, is duly attended to.'"

suited his purpose to come into collision with the author of "The Family Expositor," or to animadvert on *the neology and impiety of Mr. Scott*, in quoting the greater part of the same note in his Commentary!

This passage contains a downright misrepresentation:

EXTRACT FROM RECORD.

"Concerning the manna, we have on Exod. xvi. 22, a note that may in some measure, perhaps, be deemed satisfactory; alleging that it was not a *natural* production, but was miraculously sent by Jehovah! But, as if the subject could not be left on this footing, we have another note respecting the manna on verse 31, which terminates thus; 'Oedman supposes that it falls with the dew; being formed in the air from the quantity of sweet juices expelled from the different kinds of shrubs, &c. by the great heats of Arabia.' The scriptural statement represents the manna as a miraculous gift, appearing while the Israelites were in the desert, and disappearing when they had entered the promised land. The critic supposes it to be a natural production, and therefore, not merely one which fell for the time, while God was pleased for a particular purpose to send it, but one which falls with the dew."

The ample note which is thus wretchedly garbled by the Record * is given at full length in the Comprehensive Bible, with the name of *Doddridge* prefixed to it! But the Record takes no notice of this, as it would not have

The gross injustice of this criticism is thus exposed by Mr. Benham, in his reply to Mr. Boys:—"Upon examining the *two* notes referred to, it will be found that the latter note contains a description of the *natural* manna, and the former of the *supernatural*; and in both, the striking difference between the miraculous and natural manna is clearly pointed out, and *for the express purpose of proving the MIRACLE.* The

* The notes are printed verbatim in the APPENDIX, p. 24.

observation of Oedman, therefore, refers to the *natural* manna, as the use of the present tense, '*falls*,' sufficiently proves. Mr. Greenfield, in the former note, after stating, it is evident that it was not a *natural* production, enumerates the circumstances by which it was distinguished from the natural manna, and among these circumstances it is distinctly stated, that 'it followed them in all their journeys, wherever they pitched their tents, and it ceased at the very time of the year when the other falls, namely in March, when the Israelites were come to Gilgal. Whatever this substance was, it does not appear to have been common in the wilderness. From Deut. viii. 3, 16, it is evident that the Israelites never saw it before; and from a pot of it being preserved, it is probable that nothing of the kind ever appeared again.'—See *Comprehensive Bible*. WE ARE THEREFORE DRIVEN TO THE PAINFUL CONCLUSION THAT THE REPRESENTATION OF THE RECORD IS NOT TRUE."—See *Appendix for both Notes*, p. 21.

Some time ago the Rev. Daniel Wilson publicly denounced the observations of the Record, on the Bible Society, as "*stupid comments*;" and I am very much mistaken if the editor's criticisms on Mr. Greenfield's annotations do not deserve the same character, with the additional aggravation of their being mischievous and dishonest. *Having lately had an opportunity of examining the Comprehensive Bible, I give it as my deliberate opinion in the character of a minister of CHRIST, that the writers in the Record have been guilty of enormous injustice towards the lamented editor of that work.* The marginal references which he has collected are also invaluable, amounting to 500,000; and I am confident that if all the quotations from Lowth, Horsley, Patrick, Campbell, Doddridge, Harmer, Scott, and Hartwell Horne, and some other writers equally respectable, were expunged, the portion of annotations on which criticism has been expended would be wholly removed. And yet this is the work which has been held up to public execration, as abounding with neological sentiments!

In conclusion, I beg to request the attention of the Record to the following remarks of Dr. Johnson.

"Some seem always to read with the microscope of criticism, and employ their whole attention upon minute inelegancies, or faults scarcely visible to common observation. The slightest defects swell before their eyes into enormities. As they discern with great exactness, they comprehend but a narrow compass; and know nothing of the justness of the design, the spirit of the performance, or the harmony of the parts. They never conceive how small a proportion that which they are busy in contemplating bears to the whole; or how the trivial inaccuracies with which they are offended, are absorbed and lost in general excellence. Others are furnished by criticism with a telescope—they see with great clearness whatever is too remote to be discovered by the rest of mankind. They discover in every passage some secret meaning, some remote allusion, or some artful allegory, which no other reader ever suspected. Of all that engages the attention of others, they are totally insensible, while they pry into the worlds of conjecture, and amuse themselves with phantoms in the clouds."—See

the Rambler. And now I hope the editor of the *Record* will bear with me, if I apply to him a line which I have lately seen *misquoted* in his own paper :

“ De te fabula narratur.”

I am, &c.

CLERICUS.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

February 9, 1832.

The letters which I have already addressed to you, though hastily written in the midst of important professional duties, will be sufficient, I trust, to vindicate the character of Mr. Greenfield from the unjust and cruel accusations which have been brought against him by the *Record*. But I am unwilling to lay aside my pen on this painful occasion, until I have given you two or three additional proofs of the ignorance and disingenuousness of his reviewer.

*Passages in the Comprehensive Bible
censured by the Record.*

“ To those who possess Bagster’s Bible,” says the *Record*, “ we would recommend a calm perusal of the whole of the concluding remarks on the prophecy of Ezekiel.* They will there see at full length the tone and spirit of which we complain, and the awfully insidious character of the notes.”

I find, on examination, that “ the whole of the concluding remarks on the prophecy of Ezekiel” in the *Comprehensive Bible*, with the exception of two or three practical observations, are copied from Horne’s Introduction, or, from the authors to whom he was indebted for his materials. And this useful work of Mr. Horne, be it remembered, is studied almost as a text-book in both our Universities, and in the theological seminaries of the Dissenters throughout England.

The quotation from Michaelis, which Mr. Gipps condemns as “ *infidel*,” and which he has unfairly separated from its context, may also be found, *word for word*, in Horne’s Introduction, vol. iv. 218.

Without attempting to justify Dr. Wall’s paraphrase on Gen. vi. 1, 2, which the *Record* considers as “ offensive and degrading,” I would beg to observe, that Bishop Patrick gives nearly a similar exposition of the passage.

*Passages in the Comprehensive Bible
censured by the Record.*

“ What shall we say,” inquires the critic, “ of the following quotations, in the concluding remarks upon the Lamentations, in speaking of the inspired word of God?—‘ Uttered without connection, as they rose in the mind;’ and,—‘ Unhappily for him, as a man and a citizen, he met with a subject but too well calculated to give his genius its full display.’”

These quotations are from Lowth and Blayney, authors perpetually referred to by Mr. Scott, in his notes on the Prophecies and Lamentations of Jeremiah.

But why did not the *Record* give the extracts at *full length*, and not

* The entire remarks may be seen in the Appendix, p. 23.

in broken and unfinished sentences? Because, had he done so, the reader would have immediately detected the fraud.*

Mr. Scott quotes some of these same observations of Bishop Lowth, without warning his readers of their neological tendency!

Had the following extract from Mr. Horne appeared *anonymously* in the Comprehensive Bible, the Record would doubtless have been horror-struck with the blasphemy of its author: "*Though the sentiments of Jeremiah are not always the most elevated, nor his periods uniformly neat and compact; yet his style is in a high degree beautiful and tender, especially when he has occasion to excite the softer passions of grief and pity.*"—*Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, vol. iv. p. 196.†

Mr. Greenfield has been most cruelly handled by several writers in the Record, for observing that "the angel which destroyed Sennacherib's army was probably the simoom, or hot pestilential wind, which is so frequent in the Eastern countries, and often destroys vast numbers in a moment."

In my first letter I gave an extract from Mr. Horne, shewing that he was of the same opinion with Mr. Greenfield. I have since discovered that Dr. Prideaux has made a similar observation. "The destruction of the Assyrian army," he says, "was probably effected by bringing on them the hot wind which is frequent in those parts, and which often, when it falls on a multitude, destroys vast numbers in a moment, as frequently occurs to those great caravans of Mahomedans, who go on annual pilgrimages to Mecca. The words of Isaiah, which threatened Sennacherib with a *blast*, to be sent upon his army by God, seems to denote that this was the method of their destruction."

I have now nearly finished my review of the Record's criticisms; and I would earnestly recommend the Editor never again to propagate his opinions on subjects which he does not fully understand; or should he still be disposed to act on the old maxim,—"*Attempt great things,*" (*conamur grandia*,) I hope he will not lose sight of the common principles of justice in his ardent pursuit of fame.

I am, &c., &c., CLERICUS.

The Record repudiates the authority of Bishop Lowth.—"Truth requires us to say," observes the editor, "that that learned prelate has done much to desecrate the word of God." And yet this heterodox (!) bishop is quoted no less than one hundred and forty times by Mr. Scott, in his notes on the prophet Isaiah *alone!* and no intimation is given that he is a dangerous guide. At least, I have not been able to discover a single expression to his disparagement. Incredible as it may appear to the critics of the Record, Mr. Scott quotes the following sentiment of Bishop Lowth, without any mark of disapprobation: Hab. iii. 3—5.—"This is a sudden burst of poetry, in the true spirit of the ode—the *enthusiasm of the poet leading him to neglect all obvious ways of entering on his subject.*" Had such an observation occurred in "the Comprehensive Bible," I am persuaded

* The whole is given at full length in the Appendix, p. 22.

that it would have been considered by some as savouring strongly of the neological school : and I confess I shall be rather anxious to know how Messrs. Gipps, Thelwall, and Boys, and the Editor of the Record will dispose of it, now that it has found its way into Scott's Commentary.

In a note on Psalm cxviii. 12, the Editor of the Comprehensive Bible observes, "It is familiar with David to crowd such images in three words, as would in the hands of Homer, be the materials of his noblest, most enlarged, and dignified descriptions. The reader has here in miniature two of the finest images of Homer, which if his curiosity demands to be gratified, he will find illustrated and enlarged in the 2nd Book of the Iliad."

'In both these extracts,' says the Record, (quoting from Mr. Gipps,) 'the mind appears to me to be led to view the Psalms as the composition of David, much in the same way as the Iliad is that of Homer, while the curiosity of the reader of the Scriptures appears to me to be excited to the perusal of the latter.' Might not a captious critic moralize in the same strain on the following passages in the Rev. John Newton's Sermons on the Messiah?—"If Homer or Virgil had been to describe the exertion and effect of the power of God, in subduing and punishing his enemies, they would probably have laboured for a simile sufficiently grand. But I much question if they would have thought of the image in my text, though none can be more expressive of utter irreparable ruin, or of the ease with which it is accomplished : He shall dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Ser. 35. Again—"The sense of many prophecies concerning the Messiah, though misapplied, is remarkably expressed in a short poem of Virgil, written a few years before our Saviour's birth." Ser. 3. Doubtless Mr. Gipps would here be ready to exclaim, "the curiosity of the reader of the prophecies appears to me to be excited to the perusal of Virgil's fourth Eclogue."

If any further proof were needed that Mr. Greenfield has been unjustly accused of neologism, in the observations he has made respecting the diversity of style and idiom in the sacred writers, the following extracts, it is presumed, will completely satisfy every reasonable and candid mind. Whatever error he may have committed in this respect, it will again be found that he has erred in good company. "In speaking of St. Paul," says the Rev. R. Cecil, "it has been usual to magnify his learning, among many other great qualities which he possessed. That point seems never to have been satisfactorily made out. He was an educated Pharisee ; but, farther than this, I think we cannot go. His quotations from the Greek poets are not evidences of even a school boy's learning in our day ; for we forget when we talk of them that he was a Roman quoting Greek. Nor do I see any thing more, in his famous speech in the Areopagus, so often produced as evidence on this subject, than the line of argument to which *a strong and energetic mind would lead him*. If we talk of his talents, indeed, he rises almost beyond admiration : but they were talents of a certain order ; and the very display which we have of them seems a strong corroborative proof, that he is not to be considered as a profoundly learned man of his day. For instance, had he studied Aristotle, *it would have been al-*

most impossible but he must have caught some influence, which we should have seen in his writings. But there is nothing like the dry, logical, metaphysical character of that school; which yet had then given the law to the seats of science and philosophy. Instead of this, we see every where the copious, diffusive, declaiming, discursive; but the sublime, and wise, and effective mind.”—*Rev. R. Cecil's Remains, by Rev. Josiah Pratt*. Page 446. It would be difficult to point out a single passage in the Comprehensive Bible, equal to the above for the boldness and freedom of its criticism.*

“This book (the Revelation of St. John) contains, so to speak, less stain of humanity, and is more truly divine, than any other book in the Bible. In every other book is to be traced, more or less, the character of the writer: the style of St. Paul is readily distinguished from that of St. Peter and St. John: and Isaiah differs much from Jeremiah, Zechariah, &c. *In all these books there is something of man, some infusion of human character*. . . neither does this remark trench in the remotest degree upon the question of the plenary inspiration of every word in the Bible: since two men may both truly tell the same story, and yet their expressions may be very different.”—*See an Introduction to the Study of the Apocalypse, by Henry Drummond, Esq. Reprinted from the Christian Observer, for March, 1830*. (Though this admirable pamphlet has been published anonymously, it is generally known that the gentleman here named is the author.)

“Inspiration, in the highest sense, is the immediate communication of knowledge to the human mind by the Spirit of God: but it is commonly used by divines in a less strict and proper sense, to denote such a degree of divine influence, assistance, or guidance, as enabled the authors of the Scriptures to communicate religious knowledge to others without error, or mistake, whether the subjects of such communications were things then immediately revealed to those who declared them, or things with which they were before acquainted From the different styles in which the books are written, and from the different manner in which the same events are related and predicted

* The Publisher of the Comprehensive Bible would here beg permission to quote a sentence or two from the Rev. T. Boys' *Key to the Psalms*: p. 41. “Here we have the most evident traces of Art, Contrivance, and Design.” And at p. 153, he says,—“Nor can I regard the Sacred Writers in any other light than as able TACTICIANS, who, while they carefully arranged the centre of their forces, did not leave the ranks without order or symmetry.”

The reader will do the Rev. Mr. Boys much injustice if he considers that, by our introduction of these quotations, or others of such a tendency, that might be produced from his publications, he is to be regarded as a Neologian in intention, or a disbeliever in the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. No; but common sense and Christian honesty proclaim this truth—that the writer of such sentiments by condemning others, practically opposes the command of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. (Matt. vii. 3—5; and Luke vi. 41, 42.)

Cum tua prævideas oculis mala lippus inunctis;
Cur in amicorum vitis tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius :—

The note of our Bible, p. 1012, translates it, ‘When you can so readily overlook your own wickedness, why are you more clear sighted than the eagle or serpent of Epidaurus in spying out the failings of your friends? *A saying common among the Jews*.

This neglect of the golden rule, and the asperity and violence of Mr. Boys, have made his arguments powerless; they have been hid behind the cloud his anger had raised, and afford an example of the truth of the Apostle's words, James i. 20.

by different authors, it appears that the sacred penmen were permitted to write as their several tempers, understandings, and habits of life, directed."—*Horne's Introd.* i. 555.

"They wrote indeed in such language, as their different talents, educations, habits, and associations, *suggested*, or rendered natural to them; but the Holy Spirit so entirely superintended them, when writing, as to exclude every improper expression, and to guide them to all those which were best suited to their several subjects."—*Scott's Preface to his Comment.*

"If Mr. Wilson has adopted some inaccurate language in stating his views on inspiration, Mr. Carson has treated the subject absurdly and extravagantly. One example may suffice: 'It requires *as much* inspiration to tell what o'clock it is by inspiration, as to reveal the gospel itself: if *all* Scripture be given by inspiration, the reference to Paul's cloak requires as much inspiration, as those passages that declare the way of salvation!' These are the statements of less judicious defenders of Scripture, which as Doddridge observes in his day, have led some people to conclude that the Scriptures are not inspired at all;—they are dangerous in the extreme; and though we would make no concession, to meet the prejudices of the infidel, we would place no stumbling-block in his way. It is true that all Scripture has been placed on record by men who were instructed and kept from error by a 'Divine breathing:' and that every word owes its introduction to the direction or permission of the all-presiding Spirit: but it is no doctrine of faith, that the kind and mode of inspiration were the same in every line; and Mr. Carson's assertion, that the narration of simple facts required as much inspiration, as the declaration of doctrines, the utterance of prophecies, or the revelation of mysteries, is an unauthorized phraseology, which only tends to confuse the subject, to perplex the believer, and to confirm the prejudices of the infidel—See an Article in the *Christian Guardian*, for January, 1832, on the Canon and Inspiration of Scripture.

The principles of criticism by which the Editor of the Comprehensive Bible was guided in the compilation of his notes, were similar to those recognized in the above extracts, and his sentiments on Inspiration were in unison with those of Mr. Scott.

Mr. Greenfield has been reproved for quoting from such writers as Priestley, and Taylor of Norwich. The extracts from these authors, as far as I can discover, relate entirely to some point of history, chronology, or verbal criticism, in no way affecting the great fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. The objection, therefore, falls to the ground. Mr. Keith, in his admirable work on the Evidence of Prophecy, (which has already reached a seventh edition,) has abundance of quotations from *all kinds* of book of travels; and some of his most striking illustrations of the fulfilment of prophecy, are expressed in the words of VOLNEY, an avowed and bitter enemy of the Christian religion!—What will the Record say to this? I suspect that the following lines of Dr. Watts will not please the self-complacent and fastidious editor:

"Seize upon TRUTH where'er 'tis found,
Amongst your friends, amongst your foes,
On Christian or on heathen ground:
The flowers divine where'er it grows,
Neglect the prickles, and extract the rose."

*** Whatever favourable opinion the writer of these letters may have once entertained of the principles of the Record, he is bound to declare that his confidence in its integrity has been completely shaken by recent events, and especially by its treatment of the Rev. John Scott, with whom, indeed, he has no personal acquaintance, any more than he had with the lamented editor of the Comprehensive Bible. In a sermon on "Evangelical Idolatry," which public report ascribes to the Rev. H. M'Neile, we meet with an observation, which it is to be feared, conveys but too just a description of some noisy professors of religion in the present day:—"It is with deep unfeigned concern," says the author, "that I find myself forced to admit, and that faithfulness to my high calling obliges me to declare, that there is a deceitfulness, a disingenuous crookedness, a paltry meanness amounting to dishonesty of proceeding, frequently detected amongst them, from which worldly men of respectable moral character would shrink with shame."—Let the Editor of the Record ponder on these words, and retire to his closet for serious self-examination.

Thus far writes the disinterested clergyman, who has under the signature of CLERICUS furnished the Letters applying to *one feature* of this unhappy controversy. Should future circumstances call for a defence of every point with evidences of decisive approval of the work, abundant materials are not wanting for these purposes being effectually accomplished.

In conclusion, the reader will allow a quotation, addressed by Mr. Bagster, the Publisher of the Comprehensive Bible, to the Rev. Thos. Boys, the Editor of the Jewish Expositor, Jan. 21, 1831, in explanation of his *angry personal* attacks in that work, Nov. 1830, which explanation and defence were intended for insertion in the number, February following; but Mr. Boys replied, January 25, "I cannot admit any further notice of the volume in the shape of insertion, appendage, or advertisement." Thus the *accused* was shut out from defence or explanation in the work in which charges had been previously made, for that work was itself immediately suppressed. According to the usage of good society, and the practice of Editors in general, Mr. Boys could not honourably renew his attacks, having refused all hearing in reply, and had that gentleman not found *unusual* friendship with the Editor of the Record Newspaper, the censures in the Jewish Expositor would not have found a medium of resuscitation.

Extract from the Letter to Rev. Thos. Boys, of Jan. 28, 1831.

"Your attack has put me to great expense, but I have been amply repaid in the expressions of kindly feeling which have dropped from the lips and pens of the noble, the learned, the judicious, and the energetic. I have personally returned my thanks to such friends; but it would be injustice to myself and to them not to thus express my gratitude publicly. One sentiment is prevalent with them—that this Bible has not lost by the discussion one approver where it has been weighed on its own merits in an enlarged and effective manner; and it is my hope, that "The Pillar of Divine Truth" will afford an ample and easy means for a correct acquaintance with that valuable volume, and extend its usefulness by enlarging its circulation."

THE PILLAR OF DIVINE TRUTH immovably fixed on the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF being the chief Corner Stone; shewn by the Genuineness, Preservation, Authenticity, Inspiration, Facts, Doctrines, Miracles, Prophecies, and Precepts of the WORD OF GOD. The whole of the Arguments and Illustrations drawn from the pages of the COMPREHENSIVE BIBLE, by the Editor of that work. One handsome volume, 8vo. Price Six Shillings.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING QUOTATIONS FROM THE COMPREHENSIVE BIBLE
ANIMADVERTED ON BY THE RECORD.

NOTE ON THE MIRACULOUS MANNA, EXODUS XVI. 22.

Note: What the substance called Manna was, is utterly unknown; but from the circumstances in the text, it is evident that it was *not a natural production*, but was miraculously sent by JEHOVAH. These the learned Abarbinel, a most judicious Jewish interpreter, has thus enumerated: The natural manna was never found in the desert where this fell;—where the common manna does fall, it is only in the spring time, in March and April, whereas this fell throughout all the months of the year;—the ordinary manna does not melt in the sun, as this did (v. 21.); it does not stink and breed worms, as this did, when kept till the morning (v. 20.);—it cannot be ground, or beaten in a mortar, so as to make cakes, as this was;—the common manna is medicinal and purgative, and cannot be used for food and nutriment, as this was;—this fell in a double proportion on the sixth day, and not on the Sabbath, as it certainly would have done had it fallen naturally;—it followed them in all their journeys, wherever they pitched their tents;—and it ceased at the very time of the year when the other falls, namely, in March, when the Israelites were come to Gilgal. Whatever this substance was, it does not appear to have been common to the wilderness. From De. viii. 3, 16, it is evident that the Israelites never saw it before; and from a pot of it being preserved it is probable that nothing of the kind ever appeared again.

NOTE ON THE COMMON MANNA, EXODUS XVI. 31.

Note: *Manna is the common name* for the thick, clammy, and sweet juice, which in southern countries oozes from *certain trees and shrubs*, partly *by the rays of the sun*, partly by the puncture of some kinds of insects, and partly by artificial means. The manna common in our druggists shops comes from Calabria and Sicily, where it oozes out of a kind of ash tree, from the end of June to the end of July. But the European manna is not so good as the Oriental, which is gathered particularly in Syria, Arabia, and Persia, partly from the Oriental oak and partly from the shrub which is called in Persia *Teranjabin*. Rauwolf (Travels, vol. 1. p. 94.) and Gmelin, (Travels, vol. iii. p. 28.) say that the manna is as white as snow, and consists of grains like coriander seed as above described. But though this manna very much resembles that described by Moses, in its form, appearance, &c. yet we find a peculiarity of circumstance *by which it is distinguished from the common*. It is expressly said (xv. 14.) that the manna lay round the camp like hoar frost, which does not agree with the manna which exudes from trees and plants. Hence, Oedman supposes that it falls with the dew; being formed in the air from the quantity of sweet juices expelled *from different kinds of shrubs, &c. by the great heats of Arabia*.

NOTE ON JOSHUA VI. 26.

Note: This is apparently a strange execration; but it may be regarded as a *prediction*, that he who rebuilt this city should lose all his children in the interim between the laying of the foundation to the completion of the walls. Such execrations were not infrequent in ancient times. Strabo (l. xiii. c. 1. § 42.) says, 'It is believed, that those who might have afterwards wished to rebuild Ilium, were deterred from building the city in the same place, either by what they had suffered there, or because Agamemnon had pronounced a curse against him that should rebuild it; for this was an ancient custom. Thus Cræsus, after he had destroyed Sidenä, into which the tyrant Glaucias had thrown himself, uttered a curse upon him who should rebuild the walls of that place.'

NOTE ON PROVERBS VI. 25.

Note: This refers to the custom in the East of painting the eyelids with the powder of antimony, which has been already described (see Note on 2 Ki. ix. 30.) and 'which, although it adds to the vivacity of the eye, throws a kind of voluptuous languor over it which makes it appear, (if I may use the expression), dissolving in bliss.' Waring's Tour to Sheeraz, p. 62.

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO JEREMIAH.

The character of JEREMIAH, as a writer, is thus ably drawn by Bp. Lowth: 'Jeremiah is by no means wanting either in elegance or sublimity, although, generally speaking, inferior to Isaiah in both. St. Jerome has objected to him a certain *rusticity* in his diction; of which, I must confess, I do not discover the smallest trace. His thoughts, indeed, are somewhat less elevated, and he is commonly more copious and diffuse in his sentences: but the reason of this may be, that he is mostly taken up with the gentler passions of *grief* and *pity*, for the expressing of which he has a peculiar talent. This is most evident in the Lamentations, where those passions altogether predominate; but it is often visible also in his Prophecies; in the former part of the book more especially, which is principally *poetical*. The middle parts are, for the most part, *historical*: but the last part, consisting of six chapters, is entirely *poetical*; and contains several oracles distinctly marked, in which this Prophet falls very little short of the loftiest style of Isaiah.' His images, are, in general, perhaps less lofty, and his expressions less dignified, than those of some others of the sacred writers; but the character of his work, which breathes a tenderness of sorrow calculated to awaken and interest the milder affections, led him to reject the majestic and declamatory tone in which the prophetic censures and denunciations were sometimes conveyed. The holy zeal of the Prophet is, however, often excited to a very vigorous and overwhelming eloquence, in inveighing against the audacity with which the Jews gloried in their abominations; and his descriptions, especially the last six chapters, have all the vivid colouring that might be expected from a painter of contemporary scenes. The historical part, which chiefly relates to his own conduct, and the completion of those predictions which he had delivered, is characterised by much simplicity of style; and possesses some marks of antiquity that ascertain the date of its composition. Thus the months are reckoned by numbers; a mode which did not obtain after the captivity, when they were distinguished by Chaldaic names.

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS.

The Lamentations of Jeremiah, as Bp. Lowth observes, consist of a number of plaintive effusions, composed upon the plan of the funeral dirges, all upon the same subject, and uttered without connection as they rose in the mind, in a long course of separate stanzas. These have afterwards been put together, and formed into a collection or correspondent whole. If any reader, however, should expect to find in them an artificial and methodical arrangement of the general subject, a regular disposition of the parts, a perfect connection and orderly succession in the matter, and with all this, an uninterrupted series of elegance and correctness, he will really expect what was foreign to the prophet's design. In the character of a mourner, he celebrates in plaintive strains the obsequies of his ruined country: whatever presented itself to his mind in the midst of desolation and misery, whatever struck him as particularly wretched and calamitous, whatever the instant sentiment of sorrow dictated, he pours forth in a kind of spontaneous effusion. He frequently pauses, and, as it were, ruminates upon the same object; frequently varies and illustrates the same thought with different imagery, and a different choice of language; so that the whole bears rather the appearance of an accumulation of corresponding sentiments, than an accurate and connected series of different ideas, arranged in the form of a regular treatise. It is, however, not intended to be insinuated, that the author has paid no regard whatever to order or arrangement; or that transitions truly elegant from one subject, image, or character, to another, are not sometimes to be found; but only that the nature and design of this poem, being in reality a collection of different sentiments or subjects, each of which assumes the form of a funeral dirge, neither require, nor even admit, of a methodical arrangement. The prophet has so copiously, so tenderly, and poetically bewailed the misfortunes of his country, that he seems completely to have fulfilled the office and duty of a mourner. It may be doubted, if there be extant any poem, which displays such a happy and splendid selection of imagery in so concentrated a state. Never was there a more rich and elegant variety of beautiful images and adjuncts arranged together within so small a compass, nor more happily chosen and applied; and though there is no artificial or methodical arrangement in these incomparable elegies, yet they are totally free from wild incoherency, or abrupt transition. What can be more elegant and poetical than the description of that once flourishing city lately chief among the nations, sitting in the character of a female, solitary, afflicted, in a state of widowhood, deserted by her friends, betrayed by her dearest connections, imploring relief, and seeking consolation in vain! What a beautiful personification is that of 'the ways of Zion mourning

because none are come to her solemn feasts !' How tender and pathetic is the following complaint : ' Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by, behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the LORD hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger !' But to detail its beauties would be to transcribe the entire poem. ' Nor can we too much admire,' says Dr. Blayney, ' the full and grateful flow of that pathetic eloquence, in which the author pours forth the effusions of a patriotic heart, and piously weeps over the ruins of his venerable country. But the prophet's peculiar talent lay in working up, and expressing the passions of grief and pity ; and, unhappily for him, as a man and a citizen, he met with a subject but too well calculated to give his genius its full display.' ' One would think,' says Dr. South, ' that every letter was written with a tear—every word the noise of a broken heart ;—that the author was a man compacted of sorrows, disciplined to grief from his infancy ; one who never breathed but in sighs, nor spoke but in a groan.' ' David,' observes Dr. A. Clarke, ' has forcibly depicted the sorrows of a heart oppressed with penitential sorrow : but where, in a composition of such length, have bodily misery and mental agony been more successfully painted ? All the expressions and images of sorrow are here exhibited in various combinations, and in various points of view. *Misery* has no expression that the author of the *Lamentations* has not employed. Patriots ! you who tell us you burn for your country's welfare, look at the prophecies and history of this extraordinary man ; look at his *Lamentations* ;—take him through his life to his death, and learn from him what true patriotism means ! The man who watched, prayed, and lived, for the welfare of his country ; who chose to share her adversities, her sorrows, her wants, her afflictions and disgrace, when he might have been a companion of princes, and have sat at the table of kings ! who only ceased to live for his country when he ceased to breathe :—that was a patriot, in comparison with whom almost all others are obscured, minished, and brought low ; or are totally annihilated !'

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO EZEKIEL.

The character of EZEKIEL, as a writer and a poet, is thus pourtrayed by Bp. Lowth : ' Ezekiel is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance ; in sublimity, he is not even excelled by Isaiah ; but his sublimity is of a totally different kind. He is deep, vehement, tragical ; the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible ; his sentiments are elevated, animated, full of fire and indignation ; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, and sometimes bordering on indelicacy ; his language is grand, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished : he abounds in repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from vehemence and indignation. Whatever subjects he treats of, that he sedulously pursues ; from that he rarely departs, but cleaves, as it were, to it ; whence the connection is in general evident and well preserved. In other respects, he may perhaps be exceeded by the other prophets ; but for that species of composition to which he seems adapted by nature, the forcible, impetuous, grave, and grand, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him. His diction is sufficiently perspicuous ; all his obscurity arises from the nature of his subjects. Visions (as for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Zechariah,) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, particularly towards the middle of the book, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the language. But some passages are so rude and unpolished, that we are frequently at a loss to what species of writing we ought to refer them.' Michaelis, however, so far from esteeming him as equal to Isaiah in sublimity, is inclined to think, that he displays more art and luxuriance in amplifying and decorating his subject than are consistent with the poetical fervour, or indeed with true sublimity ; and pronounces him to be in general an imitator, who has the art of giving an air of novelty and ingenuity, but not of grandeur and sublimity, to all his compositions ; and that, as he lived at a period when the Hebrew language was visibly on the decline so if we compare him with the Latin poets who succeeded the Augustan age, we may find some resemblance in the style, something that indicates the old age of poetry. But, as Abp. Newcome judiciously observes, the prophet is not to be considered merely as a poet, or as a framer of those august and astonishing visions and of those admirable poetical representations, which he committed to writing ; but as an instrument in the hands of God, who vouchsafed to reveal himself, through a long succession of ages, not only in divers parts constituting a magnificent and uniform whole, but also in different manners, as by voice, by dreams, by inspiration, and by plain or enigmatical vision. ' Ezekiel is a great poet, full of originality ; and, in my opinion, whoever censures him as if he were only an imitator of the old prophets, can never have felt his power. He must not, in general, be compared with Isaiah, and the rest of the old prophets. Those are great, Ezekiel is also

great; those in their manner of poetry, Ezekiel in his; which he had invented for himself, if we may form our judgment from the Hebrew monuments still extant.' To justify this character, the learned prelate descends to particulars, and gives apposite examples, not only of the clear, flowing, and nervous, but also of the sublime; and concludes his observations on his style, by stating it to be his deliberate opinion, that if his 'style is the old age of the Hebrew language and composition, it is a firm and vigorous one, and should induce us to trace its youth and manhood with the most assiduous attention.' As a prophet, Ezekiel must ever be allowed to occupy a very high rank; and few of the prophets have left a more valuable treasure to the church of God than he has. It is true, he is in several places obscure; but this resulted either from the nature of his subjects, or the events predicted being still unfulfilled: and, when time has rolled away the mist of futurity, successive generations will then perceive with what heavenly wisdom this much neglected prophet has spoken. There is, however, a great proportion of his work which is free from every obscurity, and highly edifying. He has so accurately and minutely foretold the fate and condition of various nations and cities, that nothing can be more interesting than to trace the exact accomplishment of these prophecies in the accounts furnished by historians and travellers; while, under the elegant type of a new temple to be erected, a new worship to be introduced, and a new Jerusalem to be built, with new land to be allotted to the twelve tribes, may be discovered the vast extent and glory of the New Testament Church.

CONCLUDING REMARKS TO MALACHI.

The Book of MALACHI, says Bp. Lowth, is written in a kind of middle style, which seems to indicate that the Hebrew poetry, from the time of the Babylonish captivity, was in a declining state, and having passed its prime and vigour, was then fast verging towards the debility of age. The writings of this prophet, however, are by no means devoid of force and elegance: and he reproves the wickedness of his countrymen with vehemence, and exhorts them to repentance and reformation with the utmost earnestness. It is no mean recommendation of Malachi, as well as a sanction of his prophetic mission, that his Book, though short, is often referred to in the inspired writings of the New Testament; and that his claim to the character of a prophet is recognized by the Evangelists, and is admitted by our Lord himself. (Matt. xi. 10. xvii. 10..12. Mar. i. 2. ix. 11, 12. Luke i. 16, 17. vii. 27. Rom. ix. 13.) He terminated the illustrious succession of the prophets, and sealed up the volume of prophecy, by proclaiming the sudden appearance of the Lord, whom they sought, in his temple, preceded by that messenger, who, like an harbinger, should prepare His way before Him; the fulfilment of which prediction, by the preaching of John the Baptist, and the advent of Jesus of Nazareth, the true Messiah, and the Lord of life and glory, during the existence of the second temple, fully attests the divinity of his mission, and the Divine inspiration of his prophecy.

NOTE ON JOHN XVIII. 4.

Note: Our Lord not only knew, in general, says Dr. Doddridge, that he should suffer some great evil, and even death itself, but was acquainted also with all the particular circumstances of ignominy and horror that should attend his sufferings; which, accordingly, he largely foretold, (see Matt. xx. 18, 19.) though many of these circumstances were as contingent as can well be imagined. It is impossible to enter aright into the heroic behaviour of our Lord Jesus Christ without carrying this circumstance along with us. The critics are in raptures at the gallantry of Achilles in going to the Trojan war, when he knew, according to Homer, that he should fall there: but he must have a very low way of thinking, who does not see infinitely more fortitude in our Lord's conduct on this great occasion, when this circumstance, so judiciously, though so modestly, suggested by St. John, is duly attended to.

NOTE ON 1 KINGS XIII. 28.

Note: All here was supernatural. The lion, though he had killed the man, yet, contrary to his nature, did not devour him, nor tear the ass, nor meddle with the travellers that passed by, while the ass stood quietly by, not fearing the lion, nor betaking himself to flight; both stood as guardians of the fallen prophet, till this extraordinary intelligence was carried into the city, which rendered the miracle the more illustrious, and plainly shewed that this event did not happen by chance. This concatenation of miracles marked the death of the man of GOD as a Divine rebuke for his disobedience in eating bread at idolatrous Bethel; and here we see, as in various other cases, that 'often judgment begins at the house of GOD.' The true prophet, for suffering himself to be seduced by the old prophet, and for receiving that as a revelation from GOD which was opposed to the revelation which himself had received, and which was confirmed by so many miracles, is slain by a lion, and his body deprived of the burial of his fathers; while the wicked king and the fallen prophet are both permitted to live.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1832.

ART. I.—*The Life of Wiclif*. By Charles Webb Le Bas, Professor in the East India College, Herts, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London. Rivingtons. 1832.

ABOUT two years since we called the attention of our readers to a Life of our great native Proto-reformer written by Mr. Vaughan, and we need not here repeat the opinions which we then offered respecting either Wiclif or his Biographers. The volume on the same theme, now before us, is the first of a Series of Original Works, intended “to form a digested System of Religious and Ecclesiastical Knowledge;” and in pursuance of such a design the days of Wiclif naturally present the most fitting point from which the English Protestant may commence. In consenting to enter upon a field so often and so recently trodden, Mr. Le Bas has probably made no small self-sacrifice; but there are few among our contemporaries by whom such a sacrifice can be more easily afforded;—*nilhil tangit quod non ornat*—and even if it should so happen that the materials which he employs do not possess in themselves the full gloss and bloom of absolute novelty, they are nevertheless sure of being disposed, under his masterly hand, in such a manner, as to unite strength with beauty, and to exhibit complete freshness in design, arrangement, and combination.

That a publication, addressed to such objects as the new *Theological Library* professes to compass, has been undertaken, we most heartily rejoice; and by the names of its very eminent joint conductors, of the highly respectable publishers, and of many of those enlisted under their command, ample guarantee seems afforded for the merit of its execution. We are much deceived if its future pages will not be characterised, like the present sample, by general soundness of principles, sober piety, and ripe learning: and we trust that a Family of snug small octavos, adapted to the prevalent humour of the day for such minor forms, may be

expected in legitimate course of gestation, which will prove not unworthy of ranking with that brood of now dormant giants, which sprang from the press in the bye-gone Age of folios, as supreme rulers in Metaphysics and Divinity. Lovers as we are of antiquity, and constitutionally suspicious of innovation, we are far from lamenting the great outward change in Literature which has rendered it conveniently portable. The "Physic of the Soul," which, not much more than half a century ago, found no other vehicles than a profuse flood of decoction or a solid sphere of bolus, is now delicately conveyed in the dust-shot of attenuated pills, or the *guttule* of a concentrated tincture. Neither is it to be said that sound Learning hazards any diminution because we are relieved from the Sisyphean toil of rolling incessantly up a steep height of letter press in order to roll down again; any more than that our health is likely to suffer because we are spared the once necessary accompaniments of its purchase—bitter tastes and wry faces. Never indeed was more truth condensed in the narrow compass of an adage than may be found in that trite proverb which denounces, although with a somewhat different primary bearing, "Great Books to be great evils." Man is essentially a *comfortable* animal; and he will read with far more cheerfulness, and probably therefore with far more edification, a volume which he can hold "twixt his finger and his thumb," like "a pouncet-box," rather than one which seems from its dimensions to require the mechanical agency of a crane, to lift it to its resting place upon a standing desk huge as a painter's easel. Nobody unless upon compulsion ever has recourse to folios; and but for necessity they would remain, like Theseus, eternally seated upon the ground-shelves allotted for their repose.

Parvissima corpora quantò

Et lævissima sunt, ita mobilitatē feruntur.

At contrà quo quæque magis cum pondere magno,

Asperaque inveniuntur, eo stabilita magis sunt.

With this conviction that the *πρόν* and the *ποῖον* are altogether distinct qualities, in so far as the produce of type is concerned, we approach Mr. Le Bas' miniature volume with quite as much respect as if its dimensions were colossal; and we trust before we part from our readers, to exhibit to them distinct proofs that its spirit is not to be measured by its body. Our appeal will be principally made to the two Introductory Chapters, both as being the most original, and as those in which the author has evidently put forth his chief might. They contain, 1st, a General View of the gradual corruption of Christianity to the middle of the XIVth century, and 2dly, a View of Christianity in England to the same epoch.

After a fair statement of the difficulties which must often encumber the student of Ecclesiastical History, in his early inquiries, from the question, *why* Christianity, the choicest gift of Heaven, has been allowed to be perverted? Mr. Le Bas proceeds to answer it by showing the chief causes which have occasioned its corruption. In the primitive Ages of the Church, both the esoteric mysteries and the exoteric rites of Paganism, the doctrine and discipline of the Heathens, if we may so far abuse those words by applying them to a Creed which in truth possessed neither the one nor the other, were unfavourable to the simplicity of the Gospel. The Philosophers were well called by Tertullian, as will be remembered, "the Patriarchs of Heresies." Even when the striking evidence of Christianity had worked conviction on those who were thought Wise, it did not succeed in humbling the restlessness of their curiosity; nor were they content that God should be yet *more* wise than themselves. Whenever Revelation refused to exceed its own promises, and failed to reveal those things which pass Man's understanding, the Philosopher, without abandoning his new acquired belief, resorted to his former subtilities; and endeavoured to supply his wants by an unnatural commixture of the two systems. And to this source, (the fruitful and never failing source of every perversion,) the overweening pride of Human Reason, may be traced the earliest deviations from the Truth as it is in Christ.

Thus far, in regard to doctrine, although we have not expressed ourselves in Mr. Le Bas' own words, we entirely coincide with and have endeavoured briefly to represent his meaning. In attributing the profuse magnificence which, ere many centuries had passed, overburdened the simplicity of Christian worship, to the Ritual of Mythology, we think he bears, like many other writers, a little too hardly upon Paganism. Somewhat, no doubt, and certainly no small portion, must be attributed to that source; and no one can read Middleton's well known *Letter from Rome*, or Mr. Blunt's later and perhaps not so well known *Vestiges of ancient Manners in modern Italy*, without admitting that numerous coincidences, not otherwise to be accounted for, exist between the ancient rabble of Godlings and the modern mob of Saints; between idols, lustral water, and fumigations, whether displayed before the shrines of Jupiter Tonans or of St. Peter. It would be easy indeed to show plentiful instances in which such an agreement may be established; in which

Pan to Moses lends his borrowed horn;

but the subject has been often and sufficiently discussed; all we contend for is, that, in contemplating the striking analogies between the worship of Imperial and of Papal Rome, *too much* has

been thought to be borrowed by the latter from the former. Human nature requires no prompter in its tendency to cumulate pomp upon the outward service of the Deity. Man acts from instinct, not from imitation, when he sheathes Altars with gold and Temples with marble. If he be dark, barbarous, and ignorant, it is to avert the wrath of an all-devouring tyrant; if cultivated, civilized, and more enlightened, it is to conciliate the affection of a Universal Father. In either case, he bestows upon that Being whom he most dreads or loves, the possession which he esteems most costly and most precious; and be it a bribe extorted by terror, or a voluntary tribute proffered by gratitude, it is alike the best which his means suffer him to provide. If he be poor, he brings, like righteous Abel, the *firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof*; if he be rich, he dedicates the House of the Lord, which he hath builded, like that wise King who had *largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore, with two and twenty thousand oxen and an hundred and twenty thousand sheep*.

Nor can this feeling, when restrained within due bounds, when the essence of Religious worship is not forgotten in its accidents, be esteemed otherwise than praiseworthy. The reasons which induced the Almighty to prefer the sacrifice of Abel to that of Cain have furnished abundant food for controversy: and whatever they might be, it certainly does not appear from Holy Writ that in outward and apparent value that which was rejected was by any means inferior to that which was accepted. To the elder brother, as a tiller of the ground, the fruits of the earth were of as much price as were his lambs to the younger, a keeper of sheep. Hence then no argument can be derived in favour of our position. But passing over the precise directions given to Moses for the construction of the Tabernacle, its ark and mercy-seat, its vessels, its curtains, its hangings, and its vail, the garments, ephods, mitres and breast-plates of its ministers; it would seem that the distinguished approbation with which God accepted the prayer of Solomon, on the occasion referred to above, when He *hallowed His house, and put up His name therein for ever*, so that *His eyes and His heart shall be there perpetually*, may be received as proofs that a becoming majesty of external service is acceptable to Heaven.

Be the source what it may which introduced the *licentiousness* of pomp into the Christian worship—and we argue no further than that Paganism was not its *only* source—no one can deny that it soon became a most crying abuse; and that the inward cleanliness of the cup and the platter was little regarded, so as it blazed with burnished gold without; that the foulness, and noisome corruption, and dead men's bones which polluted the body of the sepulchre, were not held to be causes of offence, while its

porch glistened with polished whiteness. Well and rightly does Mr. Le Bas express himself, that "it was a fervid zeal for the glory of God's name which originally sought to render the Christian worship honourable in the sight of the Heathen," that nothing but "the vulgarest spirit of fanaticism" has ever questioned the necessity of all sober and decent solemnity. Doubtless, *wherever* two or three are gathered together, God may be fittingly worshipped in spirit and in truth; and he will accept the sacrifice of the heart, be it offered from the cavern or the mountain, from the deep vault or the upper chamber. But it is a poor and parsimonious Sectarianism, a mistaken and ascetic niggardliness, which would strip his Temples naked, and curtail or abolish ceremonies which are convenient. Far, very far, however, beyond convenience, and sober and decent solemnity, and forms necessary for honour, had the Church advanced before the fall of the Roman Empire. Take a single, and that a trifling, instance only. "The clergy," states Mr. Le Bas, "in the splendour of their apparel may be said to have well nigh beggared the 'pomp of Aaron's wardrobe, and the Flamen's vestry.' Their official raiment blazed with gold and purple, and *needle-work of divers colours*. Almost every object in the creation was pourtrayed upon these garments. The more devout among them, indeed, carried Scriptural Histories emblazoned on their backs; but even so their appearance has been compared to that of painted walls." At a period somewhat later than that of which Mr. Le Bas is here speaking, we have read of a King of France, (if we remember rightly, one of the Carolingians, and among the very weakest of that weak race) whose great merit with the Monks, by whom his Court was thronged and his canonization subsequently procured, was that he wore a mantle embroidered, as is said, with the entire Apocalypse. Accepting this statement with all requisite qualifications, (and not a few appear to be demanded,) it strikingly illustrates the contemporary degeneracy of pure Religion, and proves to how great extent idle and fantastic shadows had been substituted for genuine Christian graces. When the flood of barbarism overwhelmed Rome, corruption had so far disfigured the Church, that, as Mr. Le Bas has remarked, it is not improbable a great convulsion was necessary for her preservation; and he then acutely shows how seasonably the convulsion which *did* occur was fitted to the exigency, so that it might purify without destroying. Had it riven the frame of Society before Christianity had struck its roots deep as the centre, the gates of Hell might have prevailed against our Religion. But God, who is faithful, remembered his promise, and the Church continued to abide. The passage which follows this reasoning has a fair claim to rank highly among those which Longinus would have applauded; but powerfully as it touches the heart, warmly

as it kindles the imagination, substantially as it feeds the understanding, we miss the link which connects it with the preceding argument.

“It was well that Christianity, in those days, had long pervaded and possessed nearly the whole mass of civilized society. Had these tremendous convulsions occurred before its strength had been consolidated, they must, as it would appear to all human judgment, have swept it from the face of the earth. As it was, nothing short of a general extermination could destroy it. It survived the havoc of those dreadful visitations: but strange and wonderful were the appearances with which it emerged out of the chaos. *From the very midst of the ruins, a portentous form was seen to arise, such as the world had never looked upon; an apparition habited in the robes of priesthood, and surrounded by attributes of majesty; holding in one hand the rod of worldly power, and in the other the flaming sword, which turned every way, to guard the citadel of spiritual dominion. For ages together did this stupendous phantom continue to spread out before the astonished gaze of mankind, till its feet seemed to rest upon the earth, while its head was towering among the stars.*

“And where, it may be asked, was the power that called up this mysterious shape of sovereignty? In truth, the mighty enchanters which summoned it into the realms of light, were no other than the corrupt passions, and the clamorous necessities of man. The passions of man called aloud for indulgence, his calamities for succour and protection; and both these purposes could be answered by nothing but an empire, which should combine the spiritual with the secular dominion, and bring the powers of the world into league with the allurements and the terrors of superstition. The Papacy is not to be contemplated as a mighty scheme of imposture and despotism, constructed conformably to a fixed and regular design, and gradually completed according to a system, conveyed from one generation of deceivers to another. The passions and the wants of a licentious and semi-barbarous world invited the master-builders to raise up the fabric of spiritual supremacy; while the confusion and anarchy of the West, deprived of the protection of the Imperial presence, demanded the establishment of the temporal dominion. And thus it was, that the chambers of seduction, and the battlements of strength and pride, rose up together, and formed, between them, a structure more strange, more fantastic, and, at the same time, more vast and megalomaniac, than could ever have been projected, in the wildest mood of ambition, by the invention or the sagacity of man.”—pp. 17—19.

We do not here perceive that “the convulsion” in any way “purified;” indeed, by the rise of the Papacy, *the last state became worse than the first.*

The sentences marked above in italics have most forcibly arrested our attention; they contain choice and golden words, which impress themselves upon the memory involuntarily, and sink into it without effort; no man can read without remembering them, and having them frequently return to his lips; and whether

we consider the beauty of the diction, the harmony of the cadence, or the justness of the metaphor, they excite equal admiration and envy. Few, if any, writers can hope often to approach the high elevation attained in so palmary a passage as this; and it strikes us that Mr. Le Bas' chief fault of style, if we may venture to say that he has any fault, arises from a little too ambitious emulation αἰὲν ἀγριεύειν καὶ ὑπεύροχον ἔμμεναι—not of others—for that would not be a difficult task—but of himself. He writes as if every succeeding paragraph were jealous of its predecessor and piqued into a contest for superiority with it. It would be most unjust to say that he is ever meretricious, but we think in these introductory chapters he is too invariably glittering and gorgeous. We seek short intervals of repose, and find none. The eye is wearied, dazzled, and perplexed by excess of light, which increases to so overpowering an intensity, that in the end it almost becomes darkness. It is not that his metaphors, fiery and high mettled steeds as they are, gain mastery over their charioteer; he keeps them skilfully in hand, and they are always in the right track, and in reality under guidance. But then, on they go—ever at the top of their speed—dashing, splashing, snorting, foaming, panting, prancing, curvetting, and galloping—without bait or check, through rough places and smooth, over hill and valley, constantly accelerating as they proceed, till the terrified passenger, whom they are whirling on, fancies that he is run away with, feels himself dizzy, bewildered, vertiginous, and perhaps a little sick; and would fain jump out at all hazards, if it were in his power. The plethora of imagery, which oppresses the Introduction, is the more remarkable, from the comparative emaciation of the subsequent narrative.

But to return from this digression upon faults, into which the notice of an excellence has perversely betrayed us—Mr. Le Bas with great candour admits the many benefits which, amid all its iniquity, the Papal power conferred upon mankind:—the protection which it often afforded to the otherwise unbefriended; the shield with which it covered the helpless; the sword which it raised against the oppressor; the fostering hand with which it singly trimmed the lamp of Learning amid the utter darkness brooding every where around; and above all its inestimable preservation of the true Catholic doctrine; deep buried indeed under superincumbent error, but so located that, in due season, the hand of the skilful miner might bring the precious ore to day, and purge away the dross which had collected round it. All these great blessings speak with trumpet tongues that it was Wisdom more mighty than that of Man, which permitted this Gigantic Evil to exist, and drew good from it in the end.

Thus equitable in apportioning praise, Mr. Le Bas cannot be taxed with undue severity, when in turn he exhibits the reverse of the picture; and he does so with considerable power.

“On the other hand, Europe never can forget the remorseless and sanguinary abuse of her almost superhuman powers. In the annals of Christendom, it is indelibly written, that of all the empires which the world has ever seen or trembled at, the Papacy was the most merciless in the exercise of its predominance, whenever it was left by events to the uncontrolled manifestation of its spirit. Its maxims of government had an uniformity and an inflexibility, like that which distinguished the career and the domination both of its republican and imperial predecessor. The very life and soul of its policy, was to spare the submissive, and trample down the rebellious. If this relentless principle was ever suspended, it never, for a moment, was forgotten or abandoned. It yielded to the pressure and obstruction of circumstances, just as the inundation yields to the impediments and the resistance, offered by the face of the country which it is laying waste. It wound round the base of the mountain and the promontory, which its strength was unable to undermine or to overthrow; and it held on its stealthy course to the provinces beyond, till the whole land was overwhelmed, and the summits of the hills disappeared beneath the flood. In this very faculty of yielding, lay the secret of its resistless and unconquerable might. And all history bears witness to the desolation which marked the course of its victorious fury. The thirteenth century is disastrously memorable for the murderous crusade against the Albigenses. In the fifteenth, the annals of the Hussites, the Lollards, and the Moriscoes, were written in characters of flame and blood. The horrid tragedy is still continued through the two following centuries, in the martyrology of the Reformers and the Huguenots. To name the Inquisition, is to summon up before the memory such prodigies of infernal atrocity, as oppress and distract the heart, and almost cause it to despair of human nature. In the eighteenth century, indeed, the demon of persecution shrunk and cowered, like a guilty thing, before the advancing light of civilization and intelligence. But to this hour, though the fiend is bound in chains, it is ready, at any moment, to emerge from the pit, should it be able to burst its fetters. Infallibility is the name, which it still wears written upon its vesture and on its thigh. In this, it still hopes to conquer. In virtue of this it is, that the spirit of Loyola hath once more descended upon earth, to breathe the breath of life into the remains, which, *in the eyes of the unwise, seemed* to be consigned for ever to the dust. This is the voice which, in the hearing of the present generation, has denounced all religious toleration by the name of impiety, and has prohibited the circulation of the Scriptures, as it would prohibit blasphemy.”—pp. 24—26.

In passing on to a notice of those small and obscure Christian communities, which, safe amid their mountain fastnesses, maintained the primitive Faith uncorrupted, or very early rejected its growing abuses, Mr. Le Bas has very judiciously avoided the perplexed and controversial matters with which their story has

too often been encumbered. Perhaps, in the outset, he somewhat too absolutely speaks of the people of the Valley of Piedmont, as "known by the name of Vaudois or the Waldenses." That the two have often been thus confounded is not to be denied, but that they are plainly distinct, is, we think, a point now beyond all doubt. The Vaudois and the *Vallenses* of course are the same. But it is no more than just to their well-established superior antiquity that they should be distinguished from the later *Waldenses*, the followers of Waldo of Lyons.* A little onward, indeed, Mr. Le Bas expressly states his conviction to this effect. There is, he says, "but little difficulty in the surmise that the Valleys of Piedmont may, from primitive, perhaps from Apostolic times, have witnessed a more undefiled profession and practice of the Gospel than can easily be found among the more degenerate communions of Christian Europe." In the probability of this surmise we most unreluctantly acquiesce; but without having recourse to *conjecture*, it seems to us that the freedom of the Vaudois from many errors taught by Rome may be affirmed with *certainty* three Centuries earlier than the date which Mr. Le Bas has assigned to it. In his account of their tenets he ascends no higher than *La Nobla Leyçon*, which he is not disinclined to admit as a production of the XIIth century. We are not sure whether, by omitting any notice of Claude Bishop of Turin, in the IXth century, he intends to discredit the connexion of the Vaudois with that Prelate's Diocese; and consequently with the marked opposition to Romish Doctrines by which Claude, in his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, condemns Prayers for the dead, human merits, and the infallibility of the Church, and maintains Justification by Faith. But that the Vaudois must have been under the spiritual guidance of Claude, is plain by a reference to the Ecclesiastical distribution of Italy. The Province of the Cottian Alps embraced considerable part of Piedmont; and of the ten Dioceses in that Province, Turin was the most Eastern, and therefore the one in which the Valleys would be included.

The claims of the Vaudois to a continuous Apostolic succession, and to the retention of Episcopacy, even so late as the XVth Century, are, we think, far more doubtful than those which they assert to total or very early freedom from the corrupt doctrines of the Papacy; and Mr. Le Bas fully agrees in this opinion. It may fairly be asked how Episcopal consecration was to be obtained by them, after they had rejected the authority of the Sees under which they had hitherto been distributed, those of

* We cannot admit Maclaine's contradiction to weigh against the evidence adduced by Leger, Usher, Allix, and Mosheim, exclusive of many recent authorities.

Turin and Pinerol? and it seems that they were not less cut off from the Imposition of hands, at that season, be it what it may, than they were afterwards, when, fleeing from persecution and hunted down among their mountains, they were for awhile forced to abandon all visible Church communion. Mr. Gilly,* indeed, has said that it is evident that there were Bishops in the Waldensian Church in 1544; for that the following Article occurs in their Confession of Faith presented to Francis I. in that year. "*Nous tenons cecy pour resolu parmi nous, que les Evêques et les Pasteurs doivent être irréprehensibles dans leur doctrine et leurs mœurs.*" But in this statement there is more than one error. First, the inhabitants of Merindol and Cabrières, by whom that Confession was drawn up, cannot strictly be called the Waldensian Church, if by "Waldensian" be meant, "of the Vaudois." The above named villages were not within the confines of the Valleys; and although doubtless they agreed in many, perhaps in most points of Faith with their neighbours, and might be deemed offsets from their trunk, they plainly were not that antique trunk itself. Again, this Confession was presented to Francis in 1542, not 1544; a trifling difference, which would scarcely deserve notice, were it not that, as will presently be seen, our main objection rests upon the alteration of a single word. We have not means of ascertaining in what Language the original Confession was framed; but we feel very considerable doubt whether French was employed, because French was not at that time the general medium of Diplomacy, whether Civil or Religious. We are still more sure that the Provençals would have been unable to write so pure French as that which is above quoted; and we are borne out by the Patois of other existing documents proceeding from them. It is therefore much to be doubted whether the Article cited by Mr. Gilly is transcribed from the original Confession.

If it be not so, and if that Confession was framed not in French, but in Latin, (the Language in more ordinary official use,) the argument altogether falls to the ground. For in the Latin Confession printed by Gerdesius,† from the *Acta et Monumenta Martyrum* of Johannes Crispinus, (pp. 104—110) no mention whatever of *Episcopi* is to be found. On the contrary, the description noticed resembles a smooth, plain, level, close-shaven Presbyterianism, "*Confitemur ministros (les Evêques!) et Ecclesiæ Pastores, exempla gregi et fidelibus esse oportere.*" Every thing here depends upon the *utrum antiquius* of the Latin or the French version; and we repeat that we have not the power of

* *Mountains of Piemont*, p. 75, (1824); cited by Mr. Le Bas, p. 32.

† *Historia Reformationis*, Vol. IV., *Monumenta*, Num. XV. p. 87.

determining their rival claims. We do not profess to do more than show that, without additional evidence, Mr. Gilly's citation is by no means conclusive respecting the fact in support of which it has been adduced.

Of the exemplary purity of the lives of the Vaudois happily no doubt can ever be raised. Mr. Le Bas cites Rayner (Reyner?) in illustration of their high moral character at the time of which his volume treats. In later days, the round oath sworn by Louis XII. may be accepted as similar testimony. That Prince being asked by the reigning Pope to exterminate them, manifested a reluctance, not a little unusual either in a Most Christian or a Most Catholic King, to light the fires of persecution without previous inquiry: and avowed that if it were even Turk or Devil against whom he was commanded to make war, he would first hear what they had to say in their own behalf. The result of his investigation proved so advantageous to the parties accused, that Louis called all the Saints to witness that the Vaudois were far better Christians than either himself or any other of his subjects. But never perhaps was stronger evidence adduced in favour of those connected with the pious and simple mountaineers, than may be found in the Report laid before Francis I. at the time in which he was preparing for the accursed Massacre of Merindol. The heart sickens when we call to mind the atrocities which were afterwards perpetrated in the very teeth of that most affecting document.

The butcheries in Provence, to which we here allude, although perpetrated on a smaller scale, were akin to those committed three centuries before in Languedoc; even as the Albigenses had many features in common with the Vaudois. The charge of Manichæism brought against the former, as it had been yet earlier against the Paulicians, is strenuously rebutted by Archbishop Usher. Even if it could have been proved, the accusation was not a little ambiguous; for among the infinite variety of Sects which from time to time have been taxed with participation in the errors of the original Manichæans, who shall venture to pronounce what Heresy may or may not in some way be connected with their name? That the Albigenses were not altogether orthodox, is the most probable conclusion obtained from a comparison of the different accounts remaining of them. Such is the opinion of Mr. Le Bas, and we shall cite his statement, because we are gratified to observe in it a similar amiable and charitable temper to that which animated a very high authority in our Church, when treating the same subject 200 years before him.

“What the ‘men of the valleys’ were in Piemont, the Albigenses

may possibly have been in Languedoc, and the south of France; although it must be confessed that the name of these latter religionists has not been handed down to us with the same unsullied honours as that of their Alpine brethren. It has been confidently affirmed, that the creed of these people was tainted with the monstrous errors of the Manichæan heresy: and the charge has been supported by a large body of contemporary evidence, and more particularly by the recorded acts of the inquisition of Thoulouse. That the extravagant principles of this strange theory were partially dispersed among the multitude of sects which at this time were beginning to disturb the slumbers of Romish orthodoxy, appears almost beyond dispute. But it seems likewise irresistibly clear, that, amidst the variety of error which is said to have chequered the motley surface of their belief, one peculiarity was common to them all; for, without exception, they protested against the exorbitant wealth and intolerable despotism of the Papal hierarchy. It will easily be perceived how grievously the mixture of Gnostic or Manichæan error, in the multi-form creeds of these people, would disqualify them for an effectual conflict against the abuses they presumed to denounce. Their doctrinal perversions would enable the defenders of the Catholic faith to proclaim, with sufficient plausibility, that the gainsayers of the Papal supremacy were likewise open adversaries to the primitive truth; that the traitors to the Pontiff were also little better than rebels against God; that they who set up their own private judgment against the authority of St. Peter's chair, scrupled not to affirm a divided empire between the power of evil and the Father of all goodness. To what precise extent these notions could justly be ascribed to the Albigenses, or the Cathari, or other reputed heretics of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, it would at this day be extremely difficult to decide; but it can scarcely be doubted that they retained a sufficient amount of erroneous doctrine, to furnish their enemies with very formidable arms against them. In another, and much more creditable respect, however, they undoubtedly bore a very near resemblance to their Asiatic predecessors. The greater part of the original Manichæans are represented to us, with all their extravagancies, as a class of harmless mystics, or austere enthusiasts; and such, undoubtedly, were a very large portion among their European successors, in subsequent ages, by whatever multitude of names they may have been consigned to public execration by their persecutors."—pp. 34, 35.

In a like spirit was this persecuted race estimated by one who justly merited the title of "pious and profoundly learned," bestowed on him by his contemporaries. Joseph Mede, after touching upon the charges brought by St. Bernard against certain *vulpeculæ*, who were devouring the Lord's vineyard, writes as follows, in a tone, of which the above passage has agreeably reminded us. "*Quin et omnis ævi experientia testatur, etiam nostri, quàm parùm fidei in hujusmodi criminationibus adversario tribuendum sit. Hoc tamen eò à me dictum putari nolim, quasi Segreges istos omni prorsus erroris labe expertes crederem. Nihil opus est. Quippe in eo non vertitur res quam*

adstrictam velim. Ultro igitur dare non verebor præ ἀμερίῳ τῆς ἀνθολογῆς (ut est hominum ingenium) cū istos, tum postea Waldenses et Albigenses (quidni et nostros?) in nonnullis tam quæ ad dogmata, quàm quæ ad mores spectent, (quæ tamen essentiam Fidei Christianæ non lædant,) ab errore excusari non posse, nec debere. Hoc tamen non prohibere assero quò minùs fuerint Coetus ille Jesu Christi electus, vocatus, et fidelis. In hoc enim Religionis examine illud nos (ut opinor) sentire decet, veros & legitimos Dei cultores non ex omnimodâ erroris, etiam non fundamentalis, immunitate censendos esse, quinimo ex puritate cultûs et immunitate ab Idololatriâ. Qui sic comparati, Deo Patri per Jesum Christum Filium Mediatorem, sincerè placere studeant, ei gratos esse & acceptos. Quis enim mihi præstabit, septem illa millia qui tempore Eliæ Baali genua non flexerant, quosque Deus sibi superfuisse testatur, ab omni errore graviore fuisse immunes? aut Ecclesiam Judaicam aliquot ante Christum seculis, quâ parte sincerissima fuit, pluribus de Religione erroribus non laborâsse.”—(Revelatio Antichristi, Works, p. 722.)

How much of polemical virulence and nugacity would have been spared the suffering world, if Divines had always thought and written in the spirit of either of the above extracts!

One hundred thousand Paulicians are said to have been put to death during the Persecution raised by Theodora in the IXth century. The incredible number of one million Albigenses has been stated as the estimate of the sufferers who fell during the Crusade against them in the XIIth. And yet it may be rationally believed that the victims on both occasions were exposed to all the hideous varieties of torture and massacre which the madness of Bigotry inflicted, far less because they maintained any notion of an Evil Being equipollent with God, (into which they might be driven by their insane speculations on Free Will,) than because they refused Worship to Saints and genuflexion to Images. The question regarding the particulars of the belief of the Paulicians is among the most obscure in Ecclesiastical History; but when we call to mind the detestable moral abominations which fouled the Byzantine Court, and the simultaneous fury of its zeal for *Idololatreia*, we may more readily suppose that the vengeance of the Empress was directed against Heretics who abstained from worshipping wood and stone, than against doctrinal offences, (respecting which she was comparatively careless,) affirming the existence of two Deities, and denying the authenticity of the Old Testament. The Roman Catholic Writers indeed have delighted to exhibit, more especially, the heterodoxy of the Paulicians in regard to Images; and Bossuet, if pressed hard, might perhaps have found it not very easy to overthrow the assertions of one of those Heretics, as they are called, which he cites from Petrus Siculus, with no small expression of horror. A Woman tainted with Manichæan principles, says that writer, perverted an igno-

rant person named Sergius, by telling him that the Catholics honoured Saints and Images as if they were Gods; and that they prohibited the reading of the Scriptures, lest, from their perusal, that error and many others should be discovered. If such were really one of the Paulician arguments, (and since its narrator resided some time among those to whom he assigns it he is not likely to be mistaken,) it would be very difficult to deny that they partook of the Spirit of the XVIth Century; and we think somewhat more is owing to them than the scanty praise of having been those who first deposited in the Church the leaven of "spiritual resistance." Resistance, simply as such, may be far other than a merit; to become meritorious, it must be Resistance for the Truth's sake; and to such a merit, so far as the instance afforded by Petrus Siculus leads us, were the Paulicians certainly entitled. We advance, therefore, a few steps beyond Mr. Le Bas, and we think the Paulicians, *if the view of them which we have taken above be correct*, stand almost in the same relation to Wiclif, as Wiclif himself does to the Saxon Reformers. We need not add that we consider such an allowance as this, to employ Mr. Le Bas' own words, "very different from confessing ourselves debtors to them for our own emancipation, or investing them with the chief honours due to Apostles of Religious Purity."

Mr. Le Bas next turns, in his Second Chapter, to the state of Christianity in England at the epoch of Wiclif's appearance. To the festidious spirit of Gregory the Great, seconded by the zeal of the Monk Augustin, it is well known that we owe the firm establishment of the Gospel on our Shores, and the consequent sure mitigation of Barbarism, which accompanied it. How dark that Barbarism must have been, how ferocious the internal warfare which had raged for 150 years, is sufficiently attested by the extinction both of the Christian Religion and of the British Language throughout the Saxon-territory, at the time at which the *Founder of our Church*, as he may be justly named, first landed in Kent. On this foundation we must add a few words. True it is that many of the Romanists strenuously contend that St. Peter converted Britain, even as he was also first Bishop of their own See; but the evidence which they advance is too slight to demand attention. Simeon Metaphrastes is, we believe, the first writer who hazarded this assertion, with little more than an *ipse dixit*; and that veritable historiographer is pronounced by one grave authority to be a Greek, and therefore to be a liar; and by another, and that other a Cardinal, to have blundered on this point, as he has often done on many besides. A passage in Gildas also has been wrested to a similar purpose by one whose name alone is sufficient to condemn him, the Jesuit Persons; but it requires that most dis-

honest Doctor's peculiar obliquity of vision to discover in Gildas any vestige of such a meaning. There is rather less improbability in the traditional accounts which consign Britain to the Apostolic tutelage of St. Paul. The *insula quæ in mare jacent*, named by Theodoret as among the spots which the great Teacher of the Gentiles visited after his labours in Italy and Spain, may be applied without violence to our own Islands; but surely the expression is too general to enable any one to affirm positively that it *does* mean Britain. The mission of Joseph of Arimathæa and the foundation of Glastonbury, when divested of the pseudo-miracles grafted upon it, might be more readily believed; and we should not be reluctant to assent to that tradition avouched by Bale, which states, that he who gave a Sepulchre to our Saviour, humbly rests beneath the walls of the first Christian House of Prayer raised within the circuit of our own "Glassy Isle," (*Inis Witrin*). Whatever credit may be attached to the claim of any particular converter, the conversion itself of Britain immediately after the Apostolic times is not to be questioned. It is distinctly attested both by Tertullian and by Origen as having occurred before the close of the II^d Century. Yet, notwithstanding the progress which Christianity may have made before the fatal invitation given by Vortigern to the Saxons, nothing can be plainer than that the cruelties of the Idolatrous Tribe, which that weak Prince summoned to his assistance, prevailed more against the Faith in Britain than had even the Persecution of Diocletian. The inaccessible fastnesses of Wales and the rough places of Cornwall afforded refuge to the few who had not been compelled to bend the knee to Odin and his Scandinavian assessors. But so feeble, so remote, and so unknown was this pious remnant, that the work of Augustin and his Followers is manifestly to be esteemed a beginning, not a renovation; and the people which he found "fierce, barbarous, and *unbelieving*," as Bede has called them, required not the watering of the seed already sown, in order that it might ripen to harvest, but the very first insertion of it in the furrow. It is thus that we are justified in calling Augustin the *Founder* of our Church; and it is well to bear in mind, that, by surrendering that position, we not only deprive ourselves of a strong outwork, but, moreover, we abandon to the enemy an advantageous ground, upon which he will be certain to establish a formidable battery. It is not a simple question for the inconsequential discussion of the Antiquary, but it is one upon which, if we relinquish our grasp, Rome will fasten with greediness. Never must it be forgotten that Gregory himself disclaimed all pretension to the title of Universal Bishop, and denounced any one who asserted such a pretension to be no other than the forerunner of Antichrist.

Ego fidenter dico, says that meek, pious, and unobtrusive administrator of the Romish See, while curbing the strongly contrasted arrogance of the contemporary Patriarch of Constantinople, *Ego fidenter dico quisquis se universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit*. Never can any English Protestant be surprised that Persons, Saunders, and their legitimate successors in right line, would rejoice with exceeding joy if they could invalidate the claim of Augustin to be the layer of the first stone of our Temple, when they read in his Epitaph that he came to establish our spiritual welfare à *Beato Gregorio ROMANÆ URBIS PONTIFICE directus*.

How rapidly the fruits of Augustin's preaching attained maturity is seen by a native having been thought worthy to fill the Archiepiscopal throne, in very little more than forty-three years after the death of its first occupier. Frithona or Adeodatus, as he is called, the sixth Archbishop of Canterbury, was an Anglo-Saxon, and he is described to have been a man of learning and of virtue. Of similar character as well as Country was his elect successor, Wigard, whose death before consecration made way for the most eminent man of his times, the Cilician Theodore, the fellow-citizen of St. Paul. To that Prelate we are indebted for the first introduction of Greek Literature into our Native Soil; and would that we could recover some of the precious manuscripts which he bestowed upon his favourite child, the School which he founded at Cricklade (*Græcolada*); or that Homer upon which the Bibliomaniacs of the VIIth Century linger with delight, enamoured of the fairness of its characters and the accuracy of its text! To that illustrious name, and to the two Institutions, which must awaken a pure glow of devout exultation in the heart of every British Christian by whom they are pronounced, Iona and Lindisfarn, Mr. Le Bas offers a passing tribute as he advances onwards to Alfred.

"On the name of Alfred history has lavished all her resources of praise. Like the fabled Hercules of old, in him have centered the collective honours of institutions and achievements, the glory of which a more perfect knowledge of the times might, possibly, enable us to distribute with greater equity and credibility. But, after every reservation, enough would, doubtless, be left, to stamp him as a miracle of wisdom, energy, and patriotism; a benefactor such as Providence, in its mercy, sometimes raises up to rescue nations from despair. The Danes had torn his kingdom to fragments. He left it, at his death, in a state of integrity. In the eye of an historian of the Church, his name is eternally memorable, for the faithfulness with which he discharged the first of all those paternal duties, for which the powers that be are ordained of God. He laboured, both in his own person, and by munificence of

encouragement and patronage, to restore and to protect the fallen religion of his country. Religion seems, in truth, to have been the pillar of flame which incessantly directed and cheered him, throughout *the greatness of his way*. He commanded personally in fifty-four pitched battles—he was the creator of the navy of Britain—he was the protector of her commerce—he was, himself, the life and soul of her public justice—he has been thought by some to merit the title of Founder of her constitution—he was the good genius of her literature and arts—and, lastly, he most eminently deserves the name of Nursing Father of her Church. A third portion of his time was given up to the toils of study, and the exercises of piety. He translated works of devotion—he commenced a version of the Psalms—and his whole life appears to have been an example of the power of Christianity to take captive the highest faculties and noblest affections of man. And the whole of these wonders is rendered more overpowering by the circumstance, that they were achieved under the almost incessant pressure of severe bodily anguish. His life was one perpetual disease, and was terminated at the age of fifty-two—after having crowded within its limits such prodigies of useful exertion, as would seem to have demanded the days of an ancient patriarch, and the iron vigour of a Charlemagne.”—pp. 52, 53.

Saint Dunstan, notwithstanding Dr. Lingard's whitewash in the well-known Schedule A. at the end of his First (quarto) Volume, has received ample justice from numerous hands; and his portion of “everlasting fame” may be considered as assigned to him strictly in that monosyllable of the Satirist, which it might be unseemly to prefix here to his other words. We may leave him, therefore, after noticing Mr. Le Bas' sound and pithy judgment, that he “has done more than perhaps any other individual that can be mentioned, to inflict upon mankind the curse of a suspicion that Priestcraft and Religion are one;” and we turn to the contemplation of a widely different character, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

“Considerable interest,” says Dr. Lingard, “has been attached to the history of this Prelate by the *partiality of modern writers*.” It might be thought that one whom the general voice of his contemporaries pronounced to be the most virtuous, active, and learned Ecclesiastic of his time;—one whom Matthew Paris, an ultra-Papist, denounces as “*Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus, Prælatorum correptor, Monachorum corrector, Romanorum malleus et contemptor*; and nevertheless, with singular honesty, admits, in the very same paragraph, to have been, “*Presbyterorum director, Clericorum instructor, Scholarium sustentator, populi prædicator, incontinentium persecutor, Scripturarum sedulus perscrutator diversarum; in mensâ spirituali devotus, lachrimosus et contritus; in officio Pontificali sedulus, venerabilis et*

indefatigabilis;*—one for whose canonization, within a few years after his death, the University of Oxford presented an especial petition to the Holy See;—it might have been reasonably supposed that such a person little needed the “*partiality* of modern writers” to make him a subject of interest. The *partiality* which Dr. Lingard has shown, not a little, however, increases that interest.

Let us hear some of Dr. Lingard’s remarks on Grostete’s history. Innocent IV., in 1253, addressed a mandate to this Bishop to collate an Italian Boy, a nephew of his Holiness, to the first vacant stall in the Cathedral of Lincoln, under penalty of excommunication if he refused. This scandalous abuse was to be effected by that which the language of the Vatican termed *Provisio* or *gratia expectativa*; namely, the *providing* a person with a benefice during the lifetime of an incumbent actually seised of that Benefice; an exorbitant exercise of authority which first led to the statute of *Præmunire*. Grostete, in an ever-memorable Letter (he had on a former occasion written that which Knyghton calls *satis-tonantem Epistolam*.) peremptorily refused obedience, or rather professed that he was compelled “most filially and obediently” to disobey. How that letter was in truth received by Innocent, and what were its real consequences, we will presently show, but first we must present Dr. Lingard’s version. “So far was it (Grostete’s Letter) from exciting passion or resentment in the breast of the Pontiff, that *as soon as* he received it from his agent he wrote a letter in exculpation of his conduct, and proposed that remedy for the abuse of Provisions which has been already described in these pages.” What sort of description of that remedy is given we cannot say, for the reference (p. 19) in Dr. Lingard’s quarto edition is incorrect, and we have not the octavo at hand—but it matters nothing to our present purpose. A note on the above-cited passage continues: “The contemporary Annalist of Burton assures us that Innocent’s Letter was occasioned by the reply of Grostete to his agent, (Burt. 326. 330,) a sufficient refutation of the ridiculous tales which are told by Paris.” A second note informs us that “the story that he (Grostete) died under a sentence of suspension or excommunication, rests on very questionable authority. It probably arose from the comminatory denunciations of the Provision which he had rejected.”—(vol. ii. pp. 384, 385.)

* We have omitted one sentence which contains the *beau idéal* of a Bishop “given to hospitality,” “*in mensâ refectionis corporalis, dapilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis.*”

The Annalist of Burton, in the first page referred to by Dr. Lingard, gives Bishop Grostete's Letter to the Pope's Delegate, (which may be found in Matthew Paris also, and elsewhere,) but without a date. Grostete, according to the same authority, died on the 13th of October, 1253. The apologetical Rescript of Innocent to the English Clergy, not to Grostete, although the Pope could not yet have received the intelligence of his death, bears date the 3d of November in the same year; and the Annalist of Burton, *without saying one syllable as to the manner in which Grostete's Letter was received by the Pope*, writes as follows: *Eodem tempore* (the common form with which, or *eodem anno*, almost every sentence of this dry and jejune writer commences, and which, therefore, by no means justifies Dr. Lingard's translation, "as soon as,"—some interval may or may not have elapsed) *acceptis prædictis Literis Domini Episcopi Lincolnæ, et eisdem lectis et intellectis, Summus Pontifex Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et quibusdam Abbatibus Regnis Angliæ * * * paria Litterarum vel amplius bullata, sub hac formâ transmisit*, and this is the "sufficient refutation of the ridiculous tales which are told by Paris!" which tales, with an entire conviction that they are true, we shall venture to repeat at the hazard of being called ridiculous. "*Hæc cum ad Domini Papæ audientiam pervenissent, non se capiens præ ira et indignatione, torvo aspectu et superbo animo ait. 'Quis est iste senex delirus, surdus et absurdus, qui facta audax, imò temerarius judicat? Per Petrum et Paulum, nisi moverat nos innata ingenuitas, ipsum in tantam confusionem præcipitarem, ut toti mundo fabula foret, stupor, exemplum et prodigium! Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est Vassallus? et, ut plus dicam, mancipium, qui potest cum nutu nostro incarcerare, et ignominia mancipare? Et cum hæc inter fratres Cardinales recitarentur, vix compescentes impetum Papæ, dixerunt ei: 'Non expediret, Domine, ut aliquid durum contra ipsum Episcopum statueremus, ut enim vera fateamur, vera sunt quæ dicit. Non possumus eum condemnare. Catholicus est, imò et sanctissimus, nobis religiosior, nobis et sanctior, excellentior, et excellentis vitæ, ita ut non credatur inter omnes Prælatos majorem, imò nec parem habere. Notit hoc Gallicana et Anglicana cleri universitas, nostra non prævaleret contradictio. Hujusmodi epistolæ veritas, quæ jam fortè multis innotuit, multa contra nos poterit commovere. Magnus enim habetur Philosophus, Latinis et Græcis literis ad plenum eruditus, zelator justitiæ, lector in Theologiâ scholis, prædicator in populo, castitatis amator, persecutor simonialium.' Hæc dixerunt Dominus Ægidius Hispanus Cardinalis, et alii, quos propriatangebant conscientia. Consilium dederunt Domino Papæ, ut omnia hæc conniventibus oculis sub dissimulatione transire permitteret, ne super hoc tumultus excitaretur. Maxime propter hoc, quia scitur, quòd quandoq; discessio est ventura.*"—(p. 872.)

Now, we ask, is this minute and particular account to be rebutted by the negative evidence, the mere silence of the Annalist

of Burton? Is it not probable that, in his first fury, Innocent issued the Bull of excommunication under which Knyghton tells us—*quâ de causâ ad curiam vocatur et excommunicatur* (2436)—Grostete was lying when he died? Who, indeed, can compare the mild, gentle, and subdued tone of Innocent's Rescript with the "comminatory denunciation" of the rejected Provision, without feeling convinced that the original wrath of the Pope must indeed have been great; and that it could have subsided only in consequence of the discreet and prudential remonstrances of his Cardinals? Is it likely that the same man who had threatened the highest Ecclesiastical penalties against Grostete if he disobeyed his Provision, should, a few months afterwards, express himself as follows concerning Provisions in general, unless the Cardinals had dissented from him and refused him support? "*Cordi semper habuimus, quod in Provisionibus faciendis haberemus illius providentiæ modum, per quem Ecclesiis et Monasteriis seu aliis piis locis honor et commodum proveniret.*" Great, indeed, would have been the honor and convenience resulting to the Church of Lincoln if she had accepted the Pope's nephew, a Boy-Prebendary, as a companion for her own legendary Sir Hugh! Again, the meek and conscientious Pontiff assures us that *improbitas nimia petitorum*—(O, the pertinacity of this just-breeched solicitor for a Canonry!)—*sæpe nobis dolorem intulit, et cordi nostro suspiria cumulavit, maxime cum post multa diffugia et excogitata resistentiæ studium, Provisiones quasdam PRORSUS INVITI fecimus QUAS POTUISSE VITARE PRO MAGNO ET SOLEMNI GAUDIO DUCEREMUS* (*Ann. Burt.* 328). So far is the Pope's "Letter of exculpation" from disproving that resentment against Grostete existed in his breast, that we defy any one to read it attentively without conviction that his abandonment of the Provision was wrung from him by hard necessity; and never is the resentment of an angry man more deadly than when he feels compelled to restrain its expression.

Of Grostete's final opinion of Popery in return, we shall offer Mr. Le Bas' account. It contains the substance of a much longer passage in Matthew Paris. The anecdote with which it concludes is an additional evidence, if any such were needed, of the spirit with which Innocent continued to regard his opponent.

"At the end of the same year he was seized with the disorder which terminated all his conflicts and perturbations: and, next to the prospects of a better world, his chief consolation was to pour out his sorrows into the hearts of his confidential chaplains. His last conversations show that his spiritual vision was enlightened to perceive that the whole scheme of the Papal government was *enmity with God*. His eyes were then, at least, widely open to the frightful mischief of the Mendicant

institution ; and he bitterly deplored that the devotees of poverty should be converted into the *publicans* and extortioners of the Pope, and that the vilest secular passions should lurk beneath the garb of humility and indigence. But the burthen of his lamentations was the positively *Anti-Christian* character of the Romish hierarchy ; for, by what other name, he asked, but that of *Anti-Christ*, are we to designate a power that labours to destroy the souls which Christ came to save and to redeem ?—At last the spirit of prophecy seemed to burst upon him, and he exclaimed, that nothing but the edge of the sword could deliver the Church from this Egyptian bondage. In the midst of his lamentations his voice failed him ; and soon after he expired. His best encomium is the exultation of Innocent, who, on hearing of his death, exclaimed, ‘ I rejoice, and let every true son of the Church rejoice with me, that my great enemy is removed.’ ”—pp. 68, 69.

Dr. Lingard is not the only writer who has misrepresented Grostete. One of the many strange contradictions in the survey taken of that Prelate’s character by Milner in his *History of the Church of Christ* is noticed by Mr. Le Bas as follows:—

“ I profess myself unable, distinctly, to comprehend the views of this writer respecting the faith of Grostete. He tells us that, ‘ like many of the best divines of those days, this Bishop knew not the just nature of the Christian article of justification by Jesus Christ the righteous :’ and yet, within a few lines, he adds, that ‘ dependence on God, as a reconciled Father in Christ Jesus, was his grand practical principle.’ ”—p. 69.

Numerous other confused statements of a similar kind might be adduced from almost every page of the Chapter (Cent. XIII. Ch. VII.) which Milner has dedicated to this great man, chiefly, as it would appear, with the intention of disparaging him in the eyes of a party. Grostete, we are told, “ seems to have been always very serious in Religion according to the degree of light which he had,” but “ his views were very indistinct ;” “ so long a course of consistent steadiness, integrity, and so much fear of God, attended with so small a degree of Spiritual light as in the case of this Bishop, is not a common phænomenon in the Church of God.” “ The holy soul of Robert Grostete was favoured with so much discernment as just to *understand and receive the essentials of godliness* AND NO MORE.” What “ more” we may ask does our Creator or his blessed Son require of us, than the “ understanding and reception of the essentials of Godliness,” so as to produce “ serious Religion,” “ consistent steadiness,” “ integrity, and fear of God ?” Yet farther, “ however defective he was in doctrine, he was exceedingly strict in his views of morality, and like all Reformers of the *merely active class*, who labour to promote exterior good conduct, with low and inadequate ideas of Christian principle, he excited great offence and disgust, and pro-

duced very little solid benefit to mankind." "It was in the case of *practical evils*, not of doctrinal errors, that the Bishop of Lincoln showed the strength of his discernment; in regard to these he never failed to act with sincerity and vigour." Again, we find him described as possessing "unspotted integrity;" "uprightness and magnanimity;" "pious and upright perseverance;" that he knew "no other recreation than what naturally arose from the variety of his Religious employments;" that he was "renowned for Christian boldness and honesty, and ever animated by a true zeal for the honour of God, and by the deepest sense of the worth of souls;" "that the salvation of souls was perpetually in his thoughts and in his mouth," and that he "must have been possessed of the Spirit of Christ and have been superior to the Spirit of the World." Nevertheless, in the very teeth of these numerous declarations, and in the very same breath in which they are announced, it is added, that "most Bishops and Pastors who have been possessed of this advantage, (solid and perspicuous views of Evangelical truth,) though inferior to Grostete in magnanimity, industry and activity, have yet, if *truly pious*, far exceeded him in promoting the good of the Church." And once more, that, "upright, intrepid, disinterested, and constantly influenced by the fear of God, he yet failed to bring about the good which he had conceived in his heart, because he had too much reliance on moral and prudential plans for that reformation of mankind, which is sought in vain from every thing, except from the knowledge and application of the Gospel." But let us inquire from what less pure and living source than "the knowledge and application of the Gospel," were the multitude of Christian graces derived, with which the pen of the Historian has so lavishly and so truly invested Grostete? What enabled "the Spirit of Christ" to predominate in him over "the Spirit of the World," but "acquaintance with the mystery of Godliness?" Whence had he "sincere zeal for the honour of God, and the deepest sense for the worth of souls," unless he were "truly pious?" How, in one word, could "the salvation of souls be perpetually on his thoughts and on his lips" if he had been devoid of "solid and perspicuous views of Evangelical Truth?" That, singly, he did not effect the mighty change, which, perhaps, indeed, his eyes were not sufficiently strengthened to contemplate, even in dim perspective, and which it required the farther ripening of nearly three centuries, the acute perception of unnumbered additional abuses accumulated during their lapse, and the united efforts of a numerous band of holy Confessors finally to consummate, can little be a matter of surprise. But never till Martin Luther confronted the Powers of this world at Augsburg, and overthrew them with the sword

of Faith, did there exist heart, spirit and understanding more pregnant with the as yet unfashioned members of embryo *Protestantism* than those of Robert Grostete!

Of Milner's incongruities, after the above exposure, it is unnecessary to say more; yet we cannot forbear exhibiting as their climax two paragraphs which occur within a dozen pages of each other. First he says, "It was his (Grostete's) usual infelicity to labour in the fire for every vanity, *because he had no distinct perception of the fundamental truth of Christianity.*"—(vol. iv. p. 46.) This simple and monocephalic proposition creeps on but a few paces before it is metamorphosed into the veriest amphisbæna, the most double-visaged Janus, which ever looked fore and aft at the self-same moment;" "the eminence of his practical Godliness demonstrates that *he must have been in possession of the fundamentals of Divine Truth*—the evidence of the Bishop's *knowledge of fundamental truths* is not only to be collected by fair inferences, but is also *direct and positive!*"—(vol. iv. pp. 57-8.)

Quidni? unus olim; nunc verò partus est geminus!

The meek, amiable and accomplished Bradwardine is naturally a far higher favorite with Milner than Grostete; for the terror of Pelagianism, under which the former laboured, inclined him somewhat too much to the opposite errors of Augustin. Few of the followers of that School, however, can lay claim to the finely tempered and mitigated spirit in which Bradwardine preached the disputed doctrine. Mr. Le Bas has well explained his course.

"A predestinarian, in theory, he undoubtedly was. But what was the practical efficacy of this ingredient in his divinity? We may read the answer to this question in the following words:—'Why do we fear to preach the doctrine of predestination of saints, and of the genuine grace of God? Is there any cause to dread, lest man should be induced to despair of his condition, when his hope is demonstrated to be founded on God alone? Is there not much stronger reason for him to despair, if, in pride and unbelief, he founds his hope of salvation on himself?' Whatever may be the merits of the predestinarian doctrine, as tried by the principles of sound philosophy, or by the language of Scripture, one thing, at least, is certain,—that the Church might regard it with comparative tranquillity, if its fruits had always been as mildly flavoured, as those which it produced in the *good and honest heart* of this holy man! Uncharitable austerity, and spiritual arrogance, are the plants which are apt to thrive in the soil of what is now called Calvinism. But this was a growth which could not live in the soul of such a being as Bradwardine.

"As an adversary of Pelagius, he denounced the freedom of the human will; but it is obvious, after all, that his warfare, in reality, is

not against the perfect free agency, but against the self-sufficiency, of man. It was much the fashion of that age to question the necessity of a *preventive* grace. The spiritual influences of God, it was imagined, were to be earned by works positively meritorious, or by tempers and dispositions, which might duly render the man an object of Divine favour; so that our nature might, either be invested, as it were, with a strict legal title to the benefit; or, if not, at least, with a sort of equitable claim to it, which the bountiful goodness of the Deity would by no means resist. *Condignity* was the term invented by the schools to indicate the higher of these two moral conditions; the lower was denoted by the word *congruity*. In the one case, the man is actually *worthy* of the grace of God; in the other, he is *fitly prepared* for its reception. These fancies were, both of them, repudiated and condemned by Bradwardine; as they are, at this day, by our own Church. According to our theology, the fittest *preparation* for the influences of the Spirit of holiness, is a contrite acknowledgement of our own *unworthiness*. 'The meritorious dignity of doing well, we utterly renounce;' for it invests man with the right to bargain with his Maker. The notion of *congruity* we, as decidedly, reject; for, as Bradwardine observes, it represents the Holy One as disposing of his favours for a cheap and vile consideration. And the practical result is, that, on the one hand, we are to labour for the grace of God as urgently as if our own deeds could purchase or procure it: and, on the other, to acknowledge that our enjoyment of the gift, yea, and our power to labour for it, are solely to be ascribed to his gratuitous mercy."—pp. 77, 78.

Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, a thorn in the side of the Mendicants, is the last precursor of Wiclif whom Mr. Le Bas notices. Few and scanty indeed were the lights which burned among us in those times of ignorance and darkness that might be felt. But it is plain that we were not altogether as men without hope. Milner may condemn the mere "activity" and "practical vigour" of Grostete; Mr. Le Bas more wisely regrets that there were not many like him to be found, who bore their principles into the busy scenes of life. "The misfortune was, that the Truth for the most part *retired* to the strong holds of Religious and contemplative *retirement*; and its action there was scarcely powerful enough to keep up the moral circulation through the social mass." From Heresy, we were singularly free; but this is justly styled "a dubious pre-eminence." In 1166, a small band of German fanatics, rejecting Baptism and the Eucharist, and notwithstanding their claim to superior purity, (for they named themselves *Cathari*), teaching that marriage was incompatible with salvation, landed in England. Their leader was named Gerard, their number did not exceed thirty, and they made no more than one convert, a female, who speedily abjured. Like most other weak men, these silly people were also obstinate; but they met with judges who, compared with the general spirit of the times, must

be considered merciful. Henry II. had forbidden burning in his continental dominions; while his neighbours applied no other remedy to diseased Faith. The Synod of Bishops, therefore, before which the Cathari were summoned, condemned them *only* to whipping, branding and banishment; and there is some doubt whether, after the infliction of the first two portions of their sentence, before the third could be executed, they did not perish miserably in the fields from want of food; in consequence of a proclamation forbidding all true Christians to hold any intercourse with them. These apparently harmless sectaries, and some Albigenses, of whom we know nothing more than the bare fact that they were burned by John, appear to have been the only innovators who, before the XIVth Century, ruffled the monotonous stagnation of English orthodoxy. The temporal usurpation of Rome frequently excited deep murmurs; but few if any hearts had been yet awakened by a suspicion of her gross doctrinal corruption.

We have dwelled so long upon Mr. Le Bas' Introduction that our notice of the body of his Work must necessarily be brief; and we shall content ourselves with little more than pointing out a few novelties which it has been in his power to collect. Of the extraordinary value attached to Wiclif's labours before the Reformation, the following note may be accepted as a specimen. It is written at the end of one of the MSS. of the *Pore Catif*, a Treatise recently committed to the Press, for the first time, by the Religious Tract Society; and the original copy may be found among the Harleian collection in the British Museum (2335).

“ ‘This book was made of the goods of John Gamalin, for a common profit, that the person that has this book committed to him of the person that had power to commit it, have the use thereof for the time of his life, praying for the soul of the same John: and that he that hath this aforesaid use of the commission, when he occupieth it not, leave he it, for a time, to some other person. Also, that the person to whom it was committed for the term of life, under the aforesaid conditions, deliver it to another for the term of his life. And so be it delivered and committed from person to person, man or woman, so long as the book endureth.’ ”—p. 149.

Respecting the unruly scene which disgraced the appearance of Wiclif, when cited to St. Paul's before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, Milner has gone out of his way, not only to show that it “ added no real honour to the cause of Wiclif,” a position which no one will dispute, but he has moreover pressed into Court, the most ambiguous of all witnesses, Silence, in order, if possible, to throw some portion of that dishonour upon Wiclif himself. For this ungracious and

inequitable attempt at detraction he has met with a just reprimand from Mr. Le Bas.

“ Mr. Milner, in his *Church History*, vol. iv. p. 115, says, ‘ It would have given real pleasure to the lover of Christian reformation, if he could have discovered any proof that Wiclif protested against the disorderly and insolent behaviour of his patrons:’ and, ‘ that the deportment of the archbishop and bishop seems to have been more unexceptionable than that of Wiclif and his friends.’ Now does not this language seem to intimate that the writer must have been on the watch for an opportunity of disparaging the Reformer? As for the conduct of Wiclif’s patrons, we have no objection to deliver it over to the displeasure of Dr. Milner. Little more, perhaps, can be said for it (if correctly reported) than, that it was very nearly what might be reasonably anticipated from the haughty and semi-barbarous aristocrats of that age. The declaration of Bishop Courtney, that he would gladly have excluded the Earl Marshal from the Church, might be expected, in those times, to chafe the temper of a Percy, and highly to exasperate a Prince of the blood. But as for Wiclif himself, charity would, surely, presume that, if he did not interfere, it was because the tumult and violence of the scene were such as to make all interference hopeless and nugatory. Nay, any attempt to interfere, on his part, might only have aggravated the irritation of his high-born friends. Nothing can well be more unfair than to raise up unfavourable surmises on the strength of a negative circumstance like this.”—p. 163, 164.

Of Dr. Lingard’s shuffling arrangement of the three papers presented by Wiclif to the Papal Commissioners, on his subsequent citation to Lambeth, we have already spoken sufficiently in our *Review of Mr. Vaughan’s Life*;^{*} and Mr. Le Bas has adopted the opinion of his predecessor. Furthermore, he proceeds to correct one of the most unworthy passages which has issued from Milner’s pen. That Historian has broadly affirmed, that the explanations offered by Wiclif are considered by his “very best friends” to be so “unnatural, forced, artful, and unmanly,” that they are “ashamed to defend this part of his conduct.” Mr. Le Bas’s answer is too long for extraction, too argumentative for abridgment; but it distinctly proves that Milner’s extreme statement can be supported only by those three most convenient Rhetorical props of controversy, Omission, Assertion, and Misrepresentation. He concludes with an honest and candid admission that Wiclif in this transaction is not altogether invulnerable. From how much unavailing trouble and inconclusive apology would Biographers be relieved, if they would thus judiciously remember, that they are writing the lives not of angels but of men, and therefore that *some* errors must be granted, *some* frailties and failings must be confessed!

^{*} *Brit. Crit.*, April, 1829, p. 400.

"After all, however, it would ill become any candid biographer of Wiclif, to claim unqualified commendation for the document which, on this occasion, he exhibited to his judges. It would be vain to deny that there is, in some parts of it, an air of obliquity, of confusion, of scholastic intricacy, which very greatly weakens its dignity and effect. Whether this is to be partially ascribed to the peril of his situation; or whether it may more justly be considered as one unhappy symptom of the influence of the scholastic discipline upon his understanding, none can pronounce, but He who searcheth the heart of man."—p. 188.

In a similar spirit is Wiclif defended from other imputations cast by Milner, who endeavours to represent him as too deeply involved in secular concerns, to deserve the praise of being "a leading character of real godliness." The charge must be given in Joseph Milner's own words; those last cited belong to his brother and editor. "Whoever carefully examines the original records will soon be convinced that the merits of this Reformer have been considerably exaggerated. . . . One point of instruction may in some measure compensate the pain which every lover of truth must feel at the discovery of his inconsistencies. It is this, let serious Divines cease to immerse themselves in political concerns. Politics was the rock on which this great and good man split; and in this case it clearly appeared that the work of God is not to be carried on by 'the arm of flesh.'" . . . "I know no person of ecclesiastical eminence whose life and character have cost me more thought and care than Wicklif's. And after all, *there is not much that deserves the peculiar attention of godly persons.* I have consulted the best authorities, and in scrutinizing their contents have been mortified to find that I could not conscientiously join with the popular cry in ranking this man among the highest worthies of the Church. A political spirit, as we have seen, deeply infected his conduct." Now, cover the name Wiclif; and one or two epithets, and ask a stranger to these passages whom it is they describe? He will answer at once, if we mistake not, a Hildebrand, an Innocent, or a Julius—a Mazarine or a Richelieu—nay, perhaps he will even reply, an ex-bishop of Autun! But what says Mr. Le Bas in opposition?

"It requires no inconsiderable exercise of patience to observe the spirit which seems to have presided over the representations given of him by some, whom we might naturally expect to find among his friends. By these he is pictured to us rather under the aspect of an unquiet political agitator than of a devout and spiritual servant of Christ.* The foundation for this charge it is beyond my capacity to discover. It is true that his great reputation fixed the eyes of the government upon him as the fittest person to vindicate his country from the ignominy and

* "Milner's Church History."

the oppression of the Papal tribute—that the same cause dispatched him, among other illustrious men, as the representative of her ecclesiastical interests in the embassy to Bruges—and, lastly, that the Parliament of England resorted to the sanction of his judgment, when they resolved, that the very marrow of the realm should no longer be drained out, to pamper the greediness and ambition of a foreign court. Services like these would seem to demand of Englishmen no other sentiments than those of gratitude and reverence: and that eye must, indeed, be keen to ‘pry into abuses,’ which can discover in the performance of such services any grievous departure from the sacredness of the spiritual function. An English ecclesiastic, of distinguished sagacity and erudition, was employed to defend the Church and State of England against the rapacity of aliens; and this, too, in an age, when the talents and accomplishments of Churchmen were constantly in requisition, for all the most arduous responsibilities of secular office. This is the whole truth and substance of the case. If, indeed, it could be shown that the days and nights of Wiclif had been wholly, or chiefly, consumed in occupations and engagements of this description,—and that his powers were thus diverted from the peculiar channel in which the main current of a Churchman’s exertions ought, indisputably, to flow,—there might be some pretence for this invidious exhibition of his character. But the fact is not so. The occurrences in question were nothing more than short episodes in his life. We have only to look into his writings, or even into a catalogue of his writings, to see how small a portion of his time on earth was absorbed by matters in which politics had the slightest concern. And the more rigorously those writings are scrutinized, the more clearly will it appear, that no confessor was ever animated by a more disinterested, unworldly, and devotional spirit, than the man who enjoyed the friendship of John of Gaunt, and the confidence of the British Parliament.

“The imperfect justice hitherto rendered to the memory of Wiclif, as a man of deep religious affections, may, in part, be the natural effect of that peculiar interest which attaches to his character as the antagonist of a corrupt hierarchy. We have been accustomed to regard him, chiefly, as the scourge of imposture, the ponderous hammer, that smote upon the brazen idolatry of his age; and our thoughts have thus been too much withdrawn from the work, which was constantly going forward within the recesses of his own spirit. A more just and patient consideration of his writings will show us, that the demolition of error, and of fraud, was not more constantly present to his mind, than the building up of holy principles and affections. These two objects are, for the most part, closely interwoven with each other: and this it is, together with his use of the vernacular tongue, which gave his writings their wide and powerful influence. There had, doubtless, (as we have already observed,) been produced, before his time, and within the very bosom of the Romish Church, considerable stores of solid and devotional theology; but, then, they were either enshrined in such ‘cunning work’ of scholastic subtlety and abstraction,—or they were so guiltless of all reference to existing circumstances, and abuses,—that, to the people, they were,

generally, no better than the merest nullities; and they were, consequently, regarded with supreme indifference and composure by the Romish Church. The reveries of Plato were scarcely more innocuous to the worldly system of the Papacy, than pure effusions of the most exalted piety; such, for instance, as the works of Bradwardine, or, at a later period, the treatise of Thomas à Kempis. But the toils of Wiclif had a twofold object. He laboured not only to shake in pieces the outward fabric of the house of Rimmon, but, also, to expose and to correct the personal vices and corruptions which had, for ages, sought a shelter in its sanctuary. The former of these is an undertaking, which rouses the indignant sympathies of mankind. The latter is a work which summons all who contemplate it, to a painful examination of their own hearts and consciences. And hence it is, that the cause which exposed him to persecution in his own day, is that which has principally made him the object of admiration in the times which followed. The Reformer of Christian morals has been forgotten in the Reformer of Papal abuse; and thus his memory has been left open to the suggestion, that he is to be honoured as the antagonist of Popery, not as the advocate of Christ,—fitted to join with politicians and with princes, in their resistance to encroachment, rather than to band with saints and confessors in bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus.”—pp. 298—302.

And here we must reluctantly break away. The last few chapters of Mr. Le Bas's Work must be read entire. The 9th considers Wiclif's opinions; and a summary of a summary would be little profitable or intelligible. The 10th and 11th relate to his followers; and the 12th is a *Catalogue Raisonnée* of his Works, reprinted from Mr. Vaughan, with the permission of his liberal publishers. No one can have followed our remarks without perceiving that Mr. Le Bas has produced a Work of very considerable value. Some marks of haste it may perhaps bear about it, and a severe eye may detect a few ambitious sentences, which would probably have subsided under the gentle filing of diligent revision. But it is a volume for which the Protestant Christian owes a large debt of gratitude to its author. The student will find in it rich stores of Ecclesiastical knowledge; the accomplished Divine will lay it up in his Theological armoury among the weapons of defence with which he may usefully gird himself in the day of battle; and to the general scholar, the man of letters and of taste it will win its easy way by frequent bursts of glowing eloquence. We could not pardon ourselves if we concluded otherwise than by extracting two detached passages, which, placed together, exhibit a sum of that small portion of Wiclif's personal character which is known to us, and of the far more visible results of his labours; the first in language of unequalled beauty; the second with a nice discrimination of truth.

“ Thus prematurely was terminated the career of this extraordinary

man. His days were not extended to the length usually allotted to our species. Ten more years of vigorous exertion might reasonably have been expected from the virtuous and temperate habits of an exemplary life. But the earthly tenement was, probably, worn out by the intense and fervid energy of the spirit within: and if his mortal existence be measured by the amount of his labours and achievements, he must appear to us as full of days as he was of honours. It now remains that we endeavour to form a righteous estimate of him, as he presents himself to our conceptions through the haze and mist of ages. Unfortunately, he is known to us almost entirely by his writings. Over all those minute and personal peculiarities which give to any individual his distinct expression and physiognomy, time has drawn an impenetrable veil. To us he appears, for the most part, as a sort of unembodied agency. To delineate his *character*, in the fullest and most interesting sense of that word, would be to write romance, and not biography. During a portion of his life, indeed, he is more or less mixed up with public interests and transactions: but of these matters our notices are but poor and scanty; and, if they were more copious, they would, probably, do little towards supplying us with those nameless particulars to which biography owes its most powerful charm. With regard to the details of his daily life,—the habitual complexion of his temper—the turn of his conversation—the manner of his deportment among his companions—his inclinations or antipathies—his friendships or his alienations—we must be content to remain in hopeless ignorance.” . . . “We must be satisfied to think of him as of a voice crying in the wilderness, and lifting up, through a long course of years, a loud, incessant, heart-stirring testimony, against abuses, which for ages had wearied the long-suffering of heaven. Respecting his gigantic successor, Martin Luther, we are in possession of all that can enable us to form the most distinct conception of the man. We see him in connection with the wise, and the mighty, and ‘the excellent of the earth.’ We behold him in his intercourse with sages and divines, with princes and with potentates. We can trace him, too, through all those bitter agonies of spirit through which he struggled on, and on, till at last he seized upon the truth which made him free for ever. But, to us, Wiclif appears almost as a solitary being. He stands before us in a sort of grand and mysterious loneliness. To group him, if we so may speak, with other living men, would require a very strong effort of the imagination. And hence it is that we meditate on his story with emotions of solemn admiration, but without any turbulent agitation of our sympathies.”—pp. 294, 5.

“Admirable as he was, he seems to have been somewhat better fitted for the business of demolition than of building up. As the fearless assailant of abuse, nothing could well be more noble than his attitude and bearing. But, had he succeeded in shaking the established system to pieces, one can scarcely think, without some awful misgivings, of the fabric which, under his hand, might have risen out of the ruins. If the reformation of our Church had been conducted by Wiclif, his work, in all probability, would nearly have anticipated the labours of Calvin; and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the

Protestantism of Geneva. Episcopal government might then have been discarded—ecclesiastical endowments and foundations might have been, for the most part, sacrificed—the clergy consigned to a degrading dependence on their flocks—the worship of God, if not wholly stripped of its ritual solemnity, yet deprived of the aids of instrumental harmony—and, lastly, the fatalism which lurked in the scholastic writings of the Reformer, might then, possibly, have raised up its head, and boldly demanded a place in the Confession of the National Church! Had Wiclif flourished in the sixteenth century, it can hardly be imagined that he would have been found under the banners of Cranmer and of Ridley. Their caution, their patience, their moderation, would scarcely have been intelligible to him; and rather than conform to it, he might, perhaps, have been ready, if needful, *to perish, in the gainsaying* of such men as Knox or Cartwright. At all events, it must plainly be confessed, that there is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer, with his poor itinerant priests, and at least the better part of the Puritans, who troubled our Israel in the days of Elizabeth and her successors. The likeness is sufficiently striking, almost to mark him out as her prototype and progenitor: and therefore it is, that every faithful son of the Church of England must rejoice, with trembling, that the work of her final deliverance was not consigned to him. It must be regarded as providential, that he was raised up precisely at the time when his peculiar qualities could be most serviceable. A mighty engine was required, whose momentum might shake and loosen the cyclopean masonry of the Papal fabric, and thus prepare for the labours of wiser and sedater men. For this service Wiclif was incomparably adapted; and the faithfulness and courage with which he performed it must demand the warmest gratitude of Protestants to the latest generations.”—pp. 365, 6.

It is with no small satisfaction that we learn from the conclusion of Mr. Le Bas's Preface the intention of the University of Oxford to publish Wiclif's version of the Old Testament, under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Forshall and F. Madden, Esq. both Librarians of the British Museum. The undertaking is equally honourable to the learned editors and to the distinguished Body under whose auspices they are employed.

ART. II.—*A Guide to the Church, in several Discourses: To which are added two Postscripts; the first to those Members of the Church who occasionally frequent other Places of Worship; the second to the Clergy.* By the Rev. Charles Daubeny, late Archdeacon of Sarum. *To which is prefixed some Account of the Author's Life and Writings.* London. Rivingtons. 1830.

WE have no intention at this late day of reviewing the *Guide to the Church*—a work so well known to every clerical reader, and crowned with the favourable opinion of two generations,—though the present edition has claims upon our notice as in some degree a new publication; containing a *Memoir of the Author's Life*; a number of Letters addressed to him by some of the most eminent men in our Establishment; and a considerable portion of matter, not hitherto printed, illustrative of the times and persons who witnessed his labours in the good cause. Our remarks will accordingly be confined to the biography of the Archdeacon, and to one or two points connected with the great object that he so vigorously strove to attain, and which continue to be controverted by the enemies of the Church even at the present day.

We are not ignorant that Mr. Daubeny has been regarded by those who did not know his real character, as narrow-minded, exclusive, and excessively bigoted to the ritual and constitution of the ecclesiastical body to which he himself belonged—nay, that he was accused of holding the opinion that salvation could not be obtained in a dissenting meeting-house, and consequently that the sins of the schismatic would, without doubt, be visited upon him in the future world in the form of everlasting punishment. But the candid reader of the volumes now before us will soon see cause to be satisfied that such inferences were altogether groundless—drawn by hasty or malignant reasoners, and propagated by those who found it more easy to attack the author's character than to answer his arguments, fortified as these were by sound learning and a constant reference to the practice of the purest ages of primitive Christianity. In a word, he will perceive, from the general tenor of the Archdeacon's conduct, as a polemical writer, that a Churchman can be mild as well as firm in maintaining his doctrines; that he can refrain from rendering railing for railing; and that, even when most grossly misrepresented and slandered, he can exercise towards his bitterest enemies the charity which thinketh no evil. There is no finer example of this benign and gracious spirit than in the Letters addressed to Sir Richard Hill, who, from ignorance on some occasions, and from the impulse of controversy on others, laid to the charge of his opponent things which he knew not.

Mr. Daubeny was a native of Bristol, where his father was a merchant—a man of exemplary piety, of superior understanding, and zealously attached to the Church of England. At the age of thirteen he was placed at the College of Winchester, where he distinguished himself by his oratory and poetical talents. Four years afterwards he obtained a scholarship at New College; having in the meanwhile been deprived of both his parents, who were cut off by death within a short period of each other. At twenty-one he became possessed of an independent fortune, which, added to elegant manners and an accomplished mind, made his society much courted, and frequently placed him in situations of temptation and danger. But the precarious state of his health, while it unfitted him for associating with the gayer companions of his College, compelled him to observe regular hours and a sober regimen. He ever afterwards considered these restrictions as a providential circumstance in his favour, which, together with the strong religious principles early imbibed, conducted him in safety through those many snares which beset young men on their first entrance into the world.

Having been induced to seek for aid to his constitution in the milder climates of France and Switzerland, he went abroad in the year 1770. During the winter which he spent at Aix in Provence, he enjoyed the society of Dr. Ryder, the Archbishop of Tuam, of his grandson, the present Lord Harrowby, and of the Russian Princess Dashkow, whose attentions he gained by defending his native country against some strictures pronounced upon it by herself. At the end of the season the Princess proposed to Mr. Daubeny to accompany her on her return to Petersburg, with her little daughter, and her friend Madam Kamenski, and to occupy the vacant seat in her carriage; which being gratefully accepted, they proceeded on their route to that capital, passing through Frankfort and Dresden to Berlin, where they sojourned some time. As the Princess was supposed to be in favour with the Empress Catherine, she was received with the most marked attention at the several Courts which they visited; and Mr. Daubeny had thus the advantage of being presented to the best company on every occasion.

His introduction at the Court of St. Petersburg was followed by marked attention on the part of the Empress, who frequently conversed with him in the most condescending manner. A circumstance indicative of her behaviour to Mr. Daubeny may be told nearly in his own words, and which cannot fail to appear interesting when considered in its connection with the distinguished personage to whom it refers. In the course of the winter he amused himself in making a chalk drawing for his friend the

Princess, as a small token of gratitude for her attention to him. This drawing was shown to the Empress, who admired it sufficiently to claim it as her own, telling Dashkow that it should find a place in the imperial collection. As this was an honour to which the piece, in Mr. Daubeny's opinion, was by no means entitled, he took the liberty to remonstrate with the Empress the next time he attended her Court, telling her, that if he had thought any performance from his pencil could have obtained her attention, he would have endeavoured to produce something more worthy of her acceptance, and on that ground entreated that the drawing might be permitted to return to its original owner. The Empress immediately replied, in a very good natured way, "Oh! sir, I am too well pleased with what I have to part with it, when you send me a better the Princess shall have her own." Nothing more could be said. Continuing the conversation for some time on the subject of the arts, particularly on that of painting, the Empress told him that she had a gallery in which he would find some things worthy of notice, and that it should be open to him at all times—a permission of which Mr. Daubeny was too diffident to avail himself.

As he was a regular attendant at the chapel of the British ambassador, he appears to have had little opportunity for observing the peculiarities of the national worship. Religion, it is remarked, does not obtrude itself upon the public notice in Russia so much as in Popish countries, where an image of the Virgin is placed almost in every corner, processions are encountered in every street, and splendid churches are open all the hours of the day. In Petersburg a traveller may reside for months without witnessing any religious ceremonies whatever. Mr. Daubeny attended once at the Empress's chapel, where he saw two long-bearded ecclesiastics engaged in their ministerial functions, which appeared to him more simple than those of the Roman Church. He was impressed with an idea that the Russian priesthood, as an order of men, are insignificant when compared with the hierarchy in Catholic states. He never met with any of the dignified rank, either at Court or in any private circle. On one occasion, indeed, when sitting with the Princess Dashkow and two other ladies, he heard a priest mumbling before a household image in the corner of an adjoining room, the door of which was open. This he was told afterwards was only a "little ceremony annually performed in the season of Lent—a sort of domestic absolution for the year,"—what would in England be called a *stabit pro forma* business. His conclusion, grounded upon general observation, was, that although the Greek Church does not seem to be in a state of equal debasement with the Latin,

inasmuch as neither the worship of images nor other corruptions of the Romish Church are found in it; still it is to be feared that, as respects the vital spirit of true religion, both may be considered as standing on the same level.

It would appear that Mr. Daubeny had meditated a publication on the state of the Russian empire, with which view he spent no small portion of his time in collecting and arranging materials. The revolution which had recently taken place in that country could not fail to excite his particular interest; and having the advantage of acquiring much circumstantial information from an individual who had been a distinguished actor in it, he availed himself of the opportunity which this accident threw in his way. But prudential motives, and more especially the consideration that his book might occasion danger to more than one person connected with the Court, he relinquished his intention almost immediately upon his return to England.

In the year 1773 he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Law, Bishop of Oxford, and the week following was admitted into Priest's orders by the Bishop of London. Very soon afterwards he succeeded to a Fellowship in Winchester College, where he had not resided above two years when the vicarage of North Bradley was offered to him. This living having never been occupied by a Fellow of the College, had fallen into a state of general dilapidation and disorder. Service was performed only once on Sunday, and was thinly attended; the parish abounding in Sectarians, and the people being wild and uncivilized. The income was reduced to about 50*l.* per annum. Nothing could be more discouraging than the aspect of the place and the inhabitants; nor could any minister not possessed of some private fortune have undertaken such a charge. With that spirit which always sustains a vigorous mind intent upon doing good, the newly-inducted vicar entered upon this unpromising work; and although his success for some time was far from being equal to his exertions, the obstacles which he gradually overcame proved a full reward for his many labours and sacrifices, and at length paved the way for the accomplishment of his benevolent intentions.

His first cares were directed to his church and vicarial residence; the former of which was fast approaching to a state of ruin, and the latter had become a miserable hovel, scarcely habitable. The church was newly paved throughout, the chancel roofed and completely repaired, and the Gothic eastern window was rebuilt; the duty was increased from a half to a full service, and the Sacrament was administered once a month. The vicarage house underwent a similar renovation; several cottages and gardens being bought and pulled down in order to enlarge the pre-

mises. The accomplishment of these objects cost Mr. Daubeny, in the first instance, upwards of 3000*l.*, while he could not possibly expect compensation for such an outlay, not having been able at any time to raise the vicarial tithes as high as 160*l.* per annum. But the end which he had at heart was obtained—that of rendering the vicarage of North Bradley worthy the acceptance and residence of the future Fellows of Winchester College, and thereby preventing the parish from ever again falling into the wretched state of disorder in which he unhappily found it.

The ignorance and barbarous manners of the people at this time were such, that they opposed their worthy pastor in all his plans and improvements, and would often pull down the walls which were building, and cut down and destroy the recently planted trees; while the farmers and monied men evinced such perverseness and ill-will as were sufficient to drive any gentleman out of his parish. But these were minor evils compared with those more disheartening obstacles which he had to encounter in a place overrun with dissenters of the worst kind, who were alike unmoved by the friendly advice, the extensive charities, and the personal exertions of their minister. In 1785 he published a friendly and affectionate Address to his Parishioners, with Prayers for Families annexed. Three years after, he printed his Lectures on the Church Catechism, which were originally delivered from the desk to the children attending his Sunday school. These lectures, with evening prayers, formed a third service in the church at six o'clock, an hour which he hoped might bring back some of his wandering sheep to the fold. His discourses on Schism and the unity of the Church, delivered from time to time in the parochial pulpit, were afterwards arranged for the press, and appeared under the title of “A Guide to the Church.” His meritorious exertions did not yet meet with complete success, having still to struggle against sectarianism animated with the most malignant spirit. Three meeting-houses were erected in different parts of his extensive parish, affording a strong instance of the melancholy fact, that the most zealous and unremitting exertions of the parish minister cannot prevent the baneful effects of dissension, where once it has taken root and spread through the mass of the lower orders.

The repeated insults and injuries which he received from those who had long been accustomed to hold the Church and its ministry in contempt, are, as his biographer remarks, unworthy of detail; although at the time they seriously affected his mind and health, and thereby excited the apprehensions of his friends, who repeatedly urged him to effect an exchange of livings. In a diary, February, 1785, he says, “Great importunities were made use of

to prevail upon me to leave this parish: I trust that God will enable me to ride out the storm, in much patience, as chastened and not killed." And elsewhere, "two of my parishioners came to me to express their hope that I did not intend to leave the parish, as they had heard some such report. God be thanked, there are some in the parish to whom I seem to be a savour unto life. May God increase their number and my patience. I trust a day will come when the eyes of this people will be opened. May I, unworthy as I am, be the instrument to bring that event about."

It appears, however, from certain letters which passed between Bishop Barrington and Mr. Daubeny, that an exchange of livings was actually contemplated at one time, and that a full consent was given by the former to a negotiation which had for its object the relief of a zealous clergyman, whose bodily health seemed unequal to the arduous task in which he had engaged. But this intention was again abandoned, for reasons which are stated in the following letter, addressed to his Ordinary:—

"My friends have been for some time incessant in their solicitations for my quitting my present residence; and my physician tells me that a more elevated situation and greater composure of mind are absolutely necessary for the re-establishment of my health. I wish to follow their advice, but at the same time without sacrificing my duty. My plan, therefore, is, if possible, to settle my family within an easy distance of my living, that I may attend my duty on Sundays, and keep a resident curate in the vicarage house. My reasons for not throwing up the living are many. Without meaning to pay any compliment to myself, I think, considering the state of the parish, and the person who is likely to succeed in case of my resignation, it will not be so well attended as when I am removed to some little distance. In the next place, there are some plans set on foot for the benefit of the parish which I fear would fall to the ground; and lastly, I do not feel my conscience discharged, either as a clergyman or father of a family, in leading an idle life when I ought to be active. A strong attachment to the profession first brought me here, and nothing short of an incapacity for the duties of my parish can incline me to turn my back upon it."

That his expectations of a better state of feeling among his parishioners were not altogether disappointed, may be inferred from the following extract of a letter addressed to him by Dr. Barrington, still Bishop of Sarum:—

"I most cordially rejoice with you in the change which has taken place in the dispositions and manners of your flock. Let me, however, urge you to leave them, as soon as may be, to the care of the best resident curate you can procure; you owe too much to yourself and family to hesitate on that point, after the opinion delivered by your physician."

What could not be effected on his own account was brought to pass by the illness of his family. Having lost one child, and seeing another fall into bad health, Mr. Daubeny, now a prebendary of Sarum, resolved to remove for a time into foreign parts. On his way to Provence he remarked, according to an entry in his journal, that, "notwithstanding all the absurdities and corruptions by which Popery is disgraced, there is a much greater appearance of religion among the lower orders in a Papal than amongst the same class in a Protestant country: a strong proof of the firm hold which the Romish priesthood takes of the minds of the people compared with the influence that the priests of the Church of England retain over their congregations." This, he adds, is indeed easy to be accounted for, if it were our object to pursue the subject; but we stop only to notice the fact *en passant*. The reflections which arose in his mind while passing through Switzerland are deserving of notice on another account.

"Such is Reformation when carried into effect by those who have more zeal than judgment; who, in their anxiety to steer wide of the superstitions of Popery, are content to plunge themselves into the depths of absurdity; and who, in seeking to be wise above their more primitive brethren, have become fools. The primitive Christians were *kneeling* Christians, but those to whom we are now alluding may be called *peripatetic* Christians; whilst their Church, instead of being distinguished by the title of the Church *militant*, might be characterized by the more appropriate one of the Church *ambulant*. The service of the Church at Berne bears a close resemblance to the Presbyterian form, commencing with a psalm; to which succeeded a long drawling prayer from the pulpit; a text was then taken from the Bible placed on the cushion; upon which we left the preacher—with a great ruff about his neck, similar to those worn in the days of Queen Elizabeth—haranguing his audience *ad libitum*." "At Geneva we had another opportunity of witnessing the *improvement* which Calvinistic reformation is supposed to have introduced into the primitive Church. The audience were sitting with their hats on. The service began with a chapter out of the New Testament, Calvinists not being particularly fond of the Bible *as a whole*, but principally attached to those parts of it which appear to favour their own pre-established system. The chapter was followed by the commandments and a psalm, concluding with a sermon. The prayers of the people and absolution of the priest constituted no part of the service, whilst the Sunday at Geneva presents a motley exhibition of rigid Calvinism mixed up with the levity of the Papal system."

In the year 1790 Mr. Daubeny reached Strasburg, where everything wore a martial appearance, owing to the convulsed state of France, and the rancour already subsisting between the aristocracy and the great body of the people. Of the length to which the fury of *patriotism*, as it was called, was then carried,

some idea may be formed from the following blasphemous perversion of the baptismal service, published under the title of *Baptême Civique*.

“ Le Curé de St. Marcel a reçu hier le serment civique d'un nouveau né, prononcé par des parrains et marrains sur les fonts baptismaux.— Heureux enfant ! le voilà purifié en naissant du peché de servitude, le peché original, dont la nature étoit fort entachée sous le despotisme de ses rois, et dont l'auguste et sainte assemblée nationale vient de nous racheter. Pères de famille ! jeunes époux, qui formez de tendres liens sous la brillante constellation de la liberté, n'oubliez pas cet exemple. Que les parrains et les marrains de vos enfans prononcent pour eux le serment civique sur les fonts de baptême que la religion consacre partout le patriotisme, et soit inseparable de lui.”

Such a beginning might well portend the miserable issue in which the Revolution terminated—that baptism in blood which accompanied the promulgation of its principles over the greater part of continental Europe. A crowd of converts were everywhere ready to receive this outward sign of political regeneration. At Antwerp every street was decorated with the pole and cap of liberty. In every village a similar patriotic standard was exhibited. But what was still more surprising the churches also wore the same badges of patriotism ; every image of the Virgin and of our Saviour having the medallion of Monsieur Vandernoot pendent by a ribbon from their breasts. The clergy displayed the same medallions fastened to their official vestments, which were also seen at the buttons of the laity, at the watch-chains of the women, and on the necks of children.

For several years after his return to England Mr. Daubeny was eagerly engaged in promoting a scheme which originated with himself, for erecting a *free church* in the city of Bath, where accommodation for the lower classes was greatly wanted. After inviting the attention of the public by a series of letters which he inserted in the newspapers, he preached his first sermon on this subject at Queen Square Chapel, which so deeply interested his hearers, that £1200 were immediately subscribed. Stimulated by such encouragement, he continued indefatigable in promoting this pious work, drawing all the plans, and closely superintending every arrangement, till, in 1795, the foundation was laid under the most promising circumstances. Three years afterwards this handsome building, containing free sittings for 1360 individuals, exclusive of the galleries, was consecrated by Dr. Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and called Christ Church. Thus he had the supreme satisfaction of building the first free church that ever was erected in this country, and of officiating therein for fifteen years ; while the success with which this example has been fol-

lowed in many parts of the kingdom was the highest gratification to his mind as long as he lived.

We purposely omit the record of his literary labours, which will be considered afterwards, in order that we may give a connected view of his patriotic exertions as a friend of the poor and of the Church. In 1804 he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Sarum by Dr. Douglas, bishop of that diocese; an appointment which conferred upon him more ample means and opportunities of promoting the good cause that was never absent from his heart. After a short interval he built and endowed an asylum and school in his parish of North Bradley. The former was for the reception of a certain number of aged persons of good character and rather above the lower classes, who were comfortably accommodated, receiving each an allowance of four shillings per week, besides having a piece of garden ground. The latter was calculated for thirty regular day scholars, and double this number of Sunday pupils, under a mistress, who was accommodated with a residence in the asylum, and rewarded with a fixed salary. The original endowment and building expenses amounted to £3000; and the vicar bequeathed £2000 consols in further aid of this excellent institution and some other local charities. The temporalities are vested in the warden and fellows of Winchester College, subject to certain regulations; one of which is, that the whole establishment shall be placed exclusively under the direction of the vicar, or, in his absence, of the resident curate.

His next undertaking was the erection of an additional church in the parish of North Bradley, the great extent of which rendered it extremely inconvenient for many of the people to attend divine worship. His exertions in this instance were seconded by the warden and fellows of Winchester, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops Barrington, Tomline, and Fisher. The whole expense, including a house for the minister, was £12,600, of which Dr. Daubeney contributed about one-third from his private funds. The church was finished in 1826; the chancel and altar, which, with the other ornamental parts of the interior, are of carved stone, being designed by the archdeacon himself. The building was calculated to hold 700 persons, 350 of whom were provided with free sittings.

"It is a perfect picture, built in the most beautiful style of Gothic architecture, on the summit of a hill, in the midst of the most enchanting landscape; looking down with an air of protection upon the hamlet that is scattered at irregular intervals below it, and completely isolated from every other object, it forms an object on which the eye of the most fastidious critic may repose with transport." "It is my legacy,"

said he, after the consecration was over, "to the Church of England." "The plate for the communion was presented by the archdeacon. Some months previous to the completion of the church he was so severely attacked with illness that his recovery was deemed hopeless. Acquainted with the opinion of his medical friends, he betook himself to the settlement of his affairs, and particularly everything relating to the new erection. Let the communion vessels be as handsome as they can be made, but *plated*. I have always condemned those who have placed unnecessary temptations in the path of their fellow mortals, and I am earnest that the last act of my life should not hold out to others any inducement to sin."

Before we conclude the personal history of the archdeacon we shall copy a few observations from the work of an author who appears to have had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with his habits and manners.

"In conversation he is reserved; and there may be some truth in the remark that he does not possess the knack of talking; but the few observations which fall from him are those of a man who has read much and thought more. He is cautious and rather unwilling to form fresh acquaintances; and is accused, I think most unjustly, of hanging back from the younger clergy. I say unjustly, because I have heard those whom distance placed beyond the sphere of his action, and others whom fanaticism had blinded to his worth, term him a 'haughty dignitary' and a 'high-priest,' &c.; but, during a residence in his own immediate neighbourhood, I had reiterated proofs of the kindness and courtesy of his manner to his younger brethren in the ministry; how ready he was at all times to afford them, not only his advice, but his able and unwearyed assistance, and, if circumstances required it, his personal support. His circle of private friends is small. I remember his saying once to me, 'there is not in England a great deal of society in which a clergyman, that is, I mean a clergyman who is alive to the duties of his holy calling, and mindful of the sacredness and separation of his profession; can with propriety mingle.' The archdeacon is above the middle height, erect, rather stout, and manly in appearance; his eye is keen and penetrating; his air that of an inflexibly honest and determined character. His manner is a happy mixture of dignity and benevolence; while the leading features of his character appear to be great simplicity of heart, combined with the most unbending and uncompromising integrity."

We are told by Colonel Daubeny, that, when in his seventy-seventh year, he was accustomed to rise before six o'clock in summer, and about seven in winter; that he usually passed the first half-hour in his garden, where he was wont to sing the morning hymn and other chaunts with great power and cheerfulness; and that he then went to his devotions and reading. After breakfast he returned to his study, which, except when in the country, he seldom quitted until summoned to dinner. His maxim was

that "he could not be idle," and would "not be useless;" that he must work as long as he could, and wished "to die in his harness." In this respect his wish was gratified; he continued busy till the last; and, in the month of July, 1827, he died after a few hours' illness, at the age of fourscore.

We need not remark that so long a life so actively employed produced many literary works; some of which possess a permanent importance, while others, from their subject and temporary purpose, necessarily passed away with the occasion which called them forth. The "Guide to the Church" is unquestionably the ablest and most valuable of his treatises, and, taken in connection with the letters to Sir Richard Hill, written in defence of the views contained in it, will ever occupy a distinguished place among the numerous volumes which have been devoted by the learned of former times to the support of primitive truth and order.

The book now mentioned derived its origin from the unhappy condition in which Dr. Daubeny found the parish of North Bradley when he entered upon his ministry as vicar. Having an accurate view of the constitution of the Church, as a visible society formed by the Redeemer for the best interests of the human race, he could not think it a matter of indifference whether the people placed under his pastoral care used the appointed means of divine grace in a regular way, or whether they wandered into devious paths, where they could not possess the same assurance that the food which they sought was indeed the bread of life. He traced to the remotest period of Christian history the form of the Church of which he was an office-bearer, and proved that, until a comparatively recent date, the word and ordinances of religion had never been administered under any other polity; and therefore he led his readers to conclude that, if their spiritual safety was of any value in their eyes, they ought to adhere to a communion whose principles had descended from the age of the Apostles, and whose commission was conveyed to them through a channel which could be distinctly marked. He did not maintain that salvation was not to be had in those voluntary associations of unauthorized teachers who had gained the favour of too many of his parishioners; but he did not conceal his opinion that, as the promises of God were made to the Church as constituted by the inspired disciples of his blessed Son, those who withdrew from her prayers and sacraments must trust solely to the "uncovenanted mercies" of heaven.

Dr. Daubeny wrote at the commencement of that Revolution which, after agitating Europe forty years, is not yet completed, but continues to shake the political and religious elements of the

nations in the north and in the south. Such doctrines as those to which we have alluded could not therefore fail to be extremely unpopular among a large and very active party, whose interests have never been identified with the maintenance of ancient principles in Church or State. The shout of bigotry was accordingly raised against the vicar of North Bradley, and the usual means were employed to denounce the illiberal notions which he had dared to avow. The Dissenters proclaimed open war, impeached his motives, questioned his learning, and retaliated upon the Establishment the injury which they conceived was aimed at their body in its various forms and interests. Even some of his brethren took the field against him. The more lukewarm satisfied themselves with disavowing all participation in such narrow views, and with indirectly lauding the evangelical tenets of his opponents. The bolder and the more honest met him as an antagonist; and, by endeavouring to place the authority of the Church on a different foundation, asserted the claim of being more faithful and enlightened sons than himself of that venerable mother whom they all professed to revere.

Some of our readers will remember the controversy on *churchmanship*, if we may use such a term, in which a share was taken by Mr. Overton, of York, who opposed Mr. Daubeny; by Sir Richard Hill who, in his "Apology for Brotherly Love," took the same side; by Dr. Campbell, of Aberdeen, who attacked Episcopacy in its very principles and authority; and by the late Bishop Skinner, of the same city, who, with great calmness and ability, exposed the false reasoning of the ingenious Principal. The result, indeed, was uniformly in favour of the Church. Nothing could be added to the arguments which Blondell and Salmasius had employed a century and a half before; but these arguments, it is true, were used, by Dr. Campbell especially; with as much confidence and hardihood as if they had never been answered, although, it has been justly remarked, they are all founded upon reasons which never occurred to any one as militating against Episcopacy until a different form of ecclesiastical polity had been actually established. The Vicar of North Bradley kept his ground with the firmness and resolution which always distinguish the man who has rested his cause on fixed principle. He answered with meekness, explained with candour, and where he perceived that his reasoning was misapprehended, he resumed the train of thought in a simpler form, marshalled his authorities in a more distinct order, varied his illustration, and by these means connected his premises so closely with his conclusion that his reader found it necessary either to admit the truth which was evolved, or to deny the facts to which

it bore a reference. Even when his statements were perverted and caricatured by being covered with a false light, he retained his temper unruffled and his equanimity undisturbed. On several occasions his self-possession was put to a severe trial by Sir R. Hill, who ascribed to him things diametrically opposite to those which he earnestly laboured to teach. For example, the zealous baronet proclaimed to the world that the leading principle of Mr. Daubeny's "Guide" may be identified with the position that the Church of Christ and the Church of England are *exclusively* one and the same: assuring the author meanwhile that he had read his work with very accurate attention. In reply, the Vicar of North Bradley writes as follows:—"I will most certainly do you the justice, sir, to believe any thing that you may affirm; and though you may misunderstand, I will not for a moment suffer myself to imagine you capable of wilfully misrepresenting any man; it must therefore be supposed that the conclusion drawn relative to my book does in your own judgment stand upon a firm foundation. Upon turning to your table of contents, the reader is directed to page 167 for the discovery of the fundamental error of my work. In that page he is informed that the first leading error, the *πρωτον ψευδος* of my whole publication—in other words, the basis on which it is built—is the position that 'the Church of Christ and the Church of England are exclusively one and the same.' From this position being marked with inverted commas the reader is left to conclude that it is somewhere to be found, *totidem verbis*, in the publication here made the subject of animadversion. If such be the case, the page in my book where this position is to be found ought to have been pointed out; if not, those passages which have led to the above conclusion ought to have been submitted to the reader's judgment. Admitting that I understood the position right, it speaks thus; the Church of England and the Church of Christ are synonymous terms, and the Church of England is the only Church of Christ. Permit me, as the author, to ask you in what page of my book the above position is to be found. A position incompatible with the one here laid down is to be found at page 120; where speaking of the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome, it is observed, that it was neither the government nor the doctrine of the Church of Rome that were protested against, but the corruption that had taken place in both. In separating from the Church of Rome we separated from a corrupt church. But this separation did not render that church less a church of Christ than it was when we were in communion with it. Were it possible, sir, that the author from whom the foregoing extracts are taken could entertain the position you have drawn from his book,

he was certainly most unqualified to write upon the subject he undertook. But since it appears that I have been so unfortunate as to be misunderstood on this occasion (though it would be an affectation of candour I do not feel were I to pretend that I think all the blame of being so misunderstood is to be laid at my door), I will endeavour to explain myself more fully. Every Christian society possessing the characteristic marks of the Church of Christ, I consider to be a separate branch of the Catholic or universal visible church upon earth. The Church of England, the Church of Ireland, and the Episcopal Church of Scotland and America possess those marks. In the same light the churches of Denmark, Sweden, and Rome are to be considered; not to mention the great remains of the once-famous Greek Church, now to be found in the empire of Russia and in the East. All these churches constitute so many separate branches of the same Catholic Church of Christ; independent of each other so far as relates to the direction and appointment of indifferent things, as rites and ceremonies; but connected together as one body, by the profession of the same fundamental articles of faith, and the same divinely-instituted form of government."

Dr. Daubeny was not ignorant that the spirit of the age was unfriendly to the more strict and primitive notions which he thought it incumbent upon him to inculcate. But he consoled himself with the reflection that truth, duty, and the welfare of the Church were combined in the motive which induced him to take up his pen, to check, if possible, the current of latitudinarianism which threatens to sweep away all ancient principles and feelings. And should it be his misfortune, he said, to be writing to a world too much engaged with itself, or too indifferent to the subject he is handling, to give it due attention, he would consider himself as born out of due time; and that his words were not true only because they were not *seasonable*—a consideration which to a man who has learned that the truth of God is of more value than the whole world, cannot, in the present day, be so much a subject for surprise as it is for regret. He considered it an undertaking worthy of a minister of the Church of England, to rouse Christians from an apparent apathy to a sense of the tremendous danger attendant on that unsettlement of principles, and unsettlement of institutions, which characterize the present revolutionary age; to guard against the desertion of those old and tried paths by which, under God, this country has been conducted to the highest national pre-eminence; and to oppose a barrier to those licentious opinions and irregular practices which, if not counteracted, must terminate in the destruction of our excellent constitution. He exerted himself more especially to expose that specious but

most fallacious reasoning on ecclesiastical matters, by which uninformed minds are continually drawn astray from the established road of truth into the by-paths of error and schism.

If such motives forty years ago were considered sufficiently strong to carry a churchman against the hostile ranks of infidels, fanatics, and latitudinarians, they ought not to be disregarded at present, when the enemy has obtained means of assault which he never before possessed, and has objects in view, perhaps, which never before animated his zeal or his hopes. The day of trouble and rebuke did not appear in the eyes of Dr. Daubeny as the day in which the watchman on the walls of Zion should be silent; on the contrary, in proportion as the strength and devices of the blasphemer were increased, the more resolutely did he display the standard of faith, and invite, with a louder voice, the soldiers of the cross to rally round the emblems of truth and salvation.

The letters to Sir Richard Hill which constitute the Appendix to the Guide, merit an attentive perusal, as containing a condensed but very satisfactory view of the argument for the apostolical institution of Episcopacy.

“The Church of Christ under the Gospel is now in its eighteenth century. For upwards of fifteen centuries of that period there was no dispute on the subject of its *government*. That was confessedly and universally *episcopal*. The first Presbyterian church that ever was heard of in the world, was set up by John Calvin, at Geneva, in the year 1541. From this period the controversy between Episcopal and Presbyterian government dates its rise. It is much to be lamented indeed that such a controversy ever took place. But whoever will give himself the trouble to mark fairly the progress of it will determine that whenever the Dissenters have brought their forces—if I may adopt your phraseology—to a *pitched battle* with the Churchmen, they have never failed to be beaten out of the field. If their most famous leaders, Blondel and Salmasius, have been enabled to maintain their ground, we may safely say the few advantages which may seem to have been occasionally gained against the Church establishment, have been gained by slight skirmishing parties; who by sudden irruptions have surprised some of the Church troops sleeping on their posts, or unprovided with arms to repel the attack. But I will venture to say that no Dissenter of learning and character will choose to enter the field against a Churchman of the same description on the subject of Church government; because he knows that field of controversy has been well fought over, and that there is not a post to be found in it that is long tenable against a powerful adversary.”

It is a fact well known, we presume, to the majority of our readers that several of the leading persons who, in foreign parts, established the new form of Church government, pleaded necessity as the only excuse for their conduct. They accordingly always considered it as an unjust aspersion on their characters, to say that they were anti-Episcopalians, or that they condemned and threw

off Episcopacy as such; on the contrary, they lamented their unhappy circumstances, that they were not in a situation to partake of that advantage which England so eminently enjoyed in this respect, considering their want of Episcopacy to be more their misfortune than their fault. Such was at one time the declared language of Calvin and Beza. And long after their day, when the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, under the influence of the Scottish Covenanters, applied to the learned Blondel to bring forward what could be said in favour of the Presbyterian form, with the view of giving countenance to the plan then in agitation for overturning the ancient Apostolical Church government in England, he concluded his Apology for the opinion of Jerom with words to the following purpose:

“ By all that we have said to assert the rights of Presbytery we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and Apostolical constitution of Episcopal pre-eminence; but we believe that wheresoever it is established in conformity to the ancient canons it must be carefully preserved; and wheresoever by some heat of contention, or otherwise, it has been put down and violated, it ought to be reverently restored.”

This conclusion not being suited to the object which the Assembly had in view, was, in consequence of very pressing remonstrances against it, kept back, though in justice to truth it ought to stand on record.

It is known to every reader of ecclesiastical history that the authority upon which this statement is made, is a letter from Dr. Peter du Moulin addressed to Dr. Durell, and published in the Appendix to his “View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas.” As the communication in question is of considerable consequence, and now only to be found in a very scarce book, we make no apology for giving it at length.

“ MY REVEREND BROTHER,—To cast my mite into the rich treasury which you are now furnishing, I must inform you of a remarkable passage very pertinent to your purpose. In the year 1651, that great and good man, my Lord Primate Usher, told me that the learned Mr. David Blondel had concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymo* with words to this purpose: (‘ By all that we have said,’ &c. as above.) The good Primate told me besides that whereas the book had been written at the earnest request of the Assembly at Westminster, of the Scots especially, who had their agents and leaguers in Paris to strengthen their party by misinforming the Protestants of France and winning them to their side; when these agents saw this conclusion of Mr. Blondel’s manuscript, they expostulated with him very loud for marring all the good he had done in his book, disappointing the expectation of the Assembly, and shewing himself an enemy instead of a friend to their holy covenant. This they urged upon him with such vehemency and unwearied importunity, that they prevailed with him to put out that conclusion. Having

received this information from a person of so much knowledge and integrity as that famous prelate, yet for a further confirmation I told it to Mr. John Blondel, David's brother, then living in London, who denied that there was any truth in that report, and defended his brother as much wronged by it. If you think, said I, that I wrong your brother, complain to him of me in your next letter, and remember my kind service to him. Mr. J. Blondel did not fail to write to his brother about this; and three or four weeks after shewed me a letter from him, wherein he remembered his love to me, and acknowledged that that relation was true. This advice I thought myself obliged to give you, knowing that no man can make a better use of it than yourself, to whose holy labours about this point the Church is so much indebted."

Dr. Daubeney was one of those fearless authors who thought it his duty to write the members of the Establishment *up* to their proper principles, rather than, like more accommodating teachers, to let *down* his notions to the standard of modern liberalism. The constitution of the Church he justly regarded as one of the strongest bulwarks of a sound faith as well as of a valid ministry; and, therefore, encountering with a ready mind all the calumny and abuse which it is customary to heap on the advocates of ancient truth, he resolutely maintained that those Protestants who deliberately depart from the communion of Christ's flock, under the apostolical form in which it exists in this country, leave behind them the only assured means of salvation. He reminded his readers that as this is both a serious and an important subject, it should be considered seriously, and, as far as possible, abstractedly from all personal considerations and prejudices. In fact, this question is to be determined only by the word of God, and the practice of the Church originally founded upon it; for next to divine institution, universal practice constitutes the basis of the power and order of Episcopacy. That government, therefore, which was instituted by the Apostles, delivered to their immediate successors, and universally established in the Church, must constitute the standard to which all future judgment on this head ought in reason to conform; on the consideration that no judgment of the present members of the Church can come in competition with it, because no present members of the Church stand on the same ground with the Apostles and their immediate successors, with respect to the *data* from which alone a correct opinion on this point can be decidedly or confidently formed.

He further maintains that the reasoning which latitudinarianism has by degrees introduced into this subject, however plausibly it may sound to uninformed minds, is certainly replete with dangerous fallacy. We are told that, provided the *essentials* of religion are secured, what are deemed the *circumstantials* of it are no longer considered worthy of attention: from which general pre-

mises it is concluded that provided Christians hear the Gospel and become pious persons, it is a matter of no importance on *what ministry* they attend. With truly pious persons, as he remarks, of whatever denomination, every minister of Christ's Church must cordially wish to be united; for true piety is that gracious quality of the human heart which at all times challenges respect. But it may be asked, we trust without offence, whether it can be any recommendation even of *true piety* that it should be eccentric; or whether true piety becomes less so, or any degree sinks in the scale of estimation, by being accompanied with a due regard to order and obedience? To us it appears that of two supposed equal degrees of piety, that of the individual who lives in communion with the Church is to be preferred to that of the person who separates from it; because the pious feelings of the former are accompanied with that humility which, according to the apostolical injunction, keeps his practice in submission to the authority appointed to rule over him. We know that the first open rebellion against established order in the Jewish Church, though grounded on the holiness of the parties, was followed with the most signal mark of the Divine displeasure. And there is no passage in Scripture from which it can be concluded that similar rebellion in the Christian Church is not equally offensive to its Divine Founder, though the crime be not attended with consequences equally prompt and decisive.

But it may be farther asked of those Christians who thus discriminate between the essentials and the circumstantial of religion, where they draw the line between what is to be regarded of essential obligation to believers and what is not; or by what criterion their judgment on this head is to be determined? Should the government of the Church be reckoned among their *non-essentials* and consequently a matter of indifference, we must say that we are at a loss to understand how a government, which, to use the words of Cyprian, "*divina lege fundatum*," has been constituted by Divine authority, can be seen in this light. But exclusive of this consideration, which, of itself, it might be supposed, should preclude every seeming objection on this head, the great end that the government of the Church was designed to secure, proclaims the wisdom of its establishment.

"The Apostle calls the Church the pillar and ground of the truth—*Στυλος και ἐδραιωμα*—a pillar and the basis of that pillar; in other words, a pillar upon its basis, firmly sustaining that which was built upon it. The similitude is taken from ancient houses, raised on pillars placed firmly on their bases, for the support of the incumbent building. Thus the Church is considered as a pillar erected on the basis or foun-

dation of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, for the purpose of sustaining and upholding the truth, which, as a superstructure, has been raised upon it."

If, says the learned Hammond, the truth of the Gospel had been scattered abroad by preaching to single men, and those men never compacted together into a society under the government of bishops or stewards, &c., such as Timothy was, to whom was delivered that *παρακαταθηκη*, that *depositum*, or body of sound doctrine (1 Tim. vi. 20) to be kept as a standard in the Church, by which all other doctrines were to be measured and judged; if, I say, such a summary of faith had not been delivered to all Christians that came in, in any place, to the Apostle's preaching, and if there had not been some steward to keep it; then had there wanted an eminent means to sustain and uphold this truth of the Gospel, thus preached unto men. But by the gathering of single converted Christians into assemblies or churches, and appointing governors in those churches, and entrusting this *depositum*, or *form of wholesome doctrine*, to their keeping, it comes to pass that the Christian truth is sustained and held up; and so this house of God is affirmed to be the pillar and basis of the truth, or the pillar on that divine basis by which truth is supported.

We, therefore, heartily concur in the conclusion established by the reasoning of the archdeacon, that the apostolic government of the Church, however lightly it may now be esteemed by persons who have formed their judgment on this subject more from the opinions of men, than from the revelation of God, appears to be of the highest importance in the preservation of those very *essentials*, which many, who erroneously consider Church government to be a matter of indifference, would be thought most anxious to secure; because it is the only sure standard by which the authenticity of those essentials is to be ascertained. For, remove this standard, which the regular derivation of apostolic truth, through the continued channel of the Church, has set up, and it may be asked what criterion will remain of authority competent to determine between the contending opinions of different sects, all of which will not fail to be equally confident in their respective tenets? In such case, the conclusion drawn will not fail to be to the disadvantage of religion in general. In fact, however distant the event may be, the consequence of removing the standard of Church authority by which the genuine doctrine committed to the apostles is capable of being ascertained, and of thereby giving countenance to the wild notion that every man is at liberty to form his own Church and make his own creed, must ultimately terminate in that general indifference which is but one degree removed from downright infidelity. This indifference,

the enemies of Christianity have been enabled to recommend with too much success, on the ground of that uncertainty which must apparently attach to a subject, concerning which, men are so infinitely divided in opinion. You Christians, said the sceptics, in the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, differ among yourselves and have numerous sects, all of which claim the title of Christianity, although each of them alternately execrates and condemns the other. And, therefore, your religion is not true, and cannot have derived its origin from God.

The "Guide" was followed in a few years by the "*Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," a work which was rendered necessary by the discussion already mentioned, in regard to the true grounds of Church principle, as agitated by Mr. Overton, of York. The train of argument pursued in it does not differ materially from that which he had followed in his earlier publication; although it is necessarily of a more controversial bearing, and occasionally descends to minuter points of defence, and a more special kind of criticism.

The various topics of education—the Bell and Lancasterian—the Bible Society—the Liturgy—Unitarianism—Baptismal Regeneration—and Schism, occupied the pen of the archdeacon, from time to time, according as the interests of truth and religion seemed to make a claim upon his exertions. His reasons for supporting the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in preference to the Bible Society, were partly given to the world in the year 1812, in the form of a Charge: and when they appeared in the shape of a pamphlet, they were esteemed for the mild and dispassionate manner in which that irritating subject was discussed. The publication "*On the Nature, Progress, and Consequences of Schism with immediate reference to the present State of Religious Affairs in this Country*," was well received by every good churchman, as a proof of which, we shall copy the following letter to the author, written by the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

"My dear Sir.—I have to thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your work on schism, which I have read with the greatest pleasure—and I wish, for the sake of the Church, all clergymen could be prevailed upon to read it and lay its contents to their heart, that they might understand their relation to the Church as her ministers, the nature of their office, their rights, and their duties. But while some even of the clergy are ignorant of these things, or indifferent, perhaps worse than indifferent to them—it is not surprising that the consciences of the laity should not be more enlightened than those of their guides, nor that when a subject so strange to them is occasionally mentioned, they should turn from it as a speculative, or a fanciful notion of little practical importance. Your publication appears to me to place the question in th-

clearest light, and carry conviction by the soundness of the argument, and never to outstep the limits of moderation. I remain, &c.

W. LONDON."

The "*Protestant Companion*," we are informed by the author of the *Memoirs*, was composed by the archdeacon in the eightieth year of his age; and it presents a remarkable instance of the vigour which is frequently retained by a cultivated and well-exercised mind even to the very close of the longest period that is allotted to man upon earth. We cannot refrain from repeating some of the remarks which we made at the date of its publication, the truth of which has not been invalidated by the progress of events in the interval that has since elapsed. The author of this valuable work, we observed, has been long known to the readers of the *British Critic*, as one of the most eminent apologists of the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England. After having devoted a long and well-spent life to a firm but temperate support of the real rights of our ecclesiastical polity, it is with no little propriety that he has devoted the evening of his days to this manly and judicious protest against the exorbitant and exclusive claims of the Romish priesthood. In this respect, we think that the Archdeacon of Sarum may challenge such a character for consistency in his writings, as it does not fall to the lot of many authors to possess. It is perfectly natural that the antagonist of schismatics should bear his testimony against those overweening pretensions of popery which would place the whole of Christendom, except itself, in a state of schism; would destroy the unity of the Church at the very moment of asserting it; and which, by seeking to tyrannize over the rights of others, has called forth a spirit of licentiousness that spurns at all ecclesiastical order and authority.

It was with such claims to public attention, that Archdeacon Daubeny came forward as the defender of the rights and privileges of the Church of England. To those who are acquainted with his works it is needless to say that he wrote on this very delicate subject, not only with a complete command of temper, but with that candour and ingenuousness which disdains to take any advantage of the faults and frailties of his opponent. Every point was moderately and calmly discussed, and brought by him in a plain and straight-forward manner to the test of scripture and primitive usage. Throughout the whole there was such a manifest superiority of knowledge and power, without any effort at display, that all struggle was superseded, and the victory awarded without the noise and hurry of a triumph. As a brief and popular manual of this controversy, we, even now, recommend the *Protestant Companion* to the perusal of the clergy; and we are persuaded that every one who reads it will venerate the memory

of its author, as an able and conscientious advocate of that particular form of protestant episcopacy which is established in this land.

We cannot undertake to give even the catalogue of his numerous works, which, including his charges, amount to no fewer than forty-four. Some of them, no doubt, from their occasional and fugitive nature, do not retain the interest which they originally possessed; but the greater part have a permanent and inherent importance, of which no length of time or change of circumstances can possibly deprive them. We are, therefore, happy to observe, from a statement made by the editor, that there is some probability of seeing a uniform impression of Archdeacon Daubeny's Sermons, Discourses, Tracts, and Charges, fit to be placed by the side of this edition of the "Guide to the Church."

But the reputation of Dr. Daubeny was not exclusively founded on his literary labours, viewed as mere efforts of scholarship, or examples of fine writing. In these respects he had little care or ambition; holding the manner as a very inferior consideration compared to the vast importance of the subjects to which he invited the attention of his readers. So far indeed was he from seeking popularity, that he selected for the path of duty a track above all others devoted to the frown of modern liberality, and to the suspicions of the more ignorant among the members of the Church. He was aware of the hazards he incurred, but he despised them. He knew that the admirers of Mr. Wilberforce, the followers of Sir Richard Hill, and the partisans of Mr. Overton, would denounce him as a bigot, or insinuate against him all the errors and blindness of popery. His only consolation, in such circumstances, arose from the consciousness that he was endeavouring to discharge a sacred obligation, and from the hope that he would thereby gain the esteem of those who were not only the slowest to condemn, but the most qualified to form a correct judgment. Even at present, the name of Archdeacon Daubeny represents as it were the *type* of a certain order of churchmen,—those namely, who hold the apostolic authority of the Christian priesthood and the divine institution of their ecclesiastical polity and government.

Nor did he satisfy himself with expending his time and his talents in the support of that communion to which he had vowed his service. He gave liberally of his private fortune to repair what had fallen down, to supply what was wanting, and to create means and opportunities which had never been enjoyed before. While others looked on in amazement or distraction, paralysed by the efforts of open enemies, and by the more dangerous apathy of

professed friends, he acted with vigour and resolution in vindicating the cause of truth, and at the same time set an example of all the munificence and self-denial which he recommended to others. The sums which he spent at Bath, at North Bradley and other parts of the kingdom, exceeded in amount all that he had received for his professional labours. In a parish, the revenue of which could not be made to exceed 160*l.* a year, he laid out more than 6000*l.*; and in a district where he found only the most intemperate sectarianism, poverty, disaffection, and fanatical rage, he repaired one church, built another, founded a school, and endowed a hospital.

Above all, viewed as a controversialist, he had the rare merit of exhibiting the most unshaken firmness together with the highest degree of placidity and self-command. He never injured his cause, or weakened the effect of his arguments, by using language unsuited to the sacred object which he had in view, or by allowing to escape any symptoms of feeling which he would have been ashamed to acknowledge. Hence, many who could not adopt his conclusions, admired the sincere and gentle manner in which he conducted his researches or met the objections of his most virulent antagonists. Even when he saw that he was wilfully misrepresented by an opponent, who occasionally stooped to the lowest arts of disputation, he proceeded to answer as if he had been merely misunderstood; and when it was manifest to every one, as well as to himself, that it was art, and not ignorance, which had perverted his statements, he condescended to explain, to renew his illustrations, and to increase the number of his authorities. In a word, no man doubted that Archdeacon Daubeney was honest as well as zealous, that he was influenced by a truly Christian charity, and earnestly wished that all might come to the knowledge of the truth. He venerated the establishment to which he belonged, not because it gave him rank and influence; but because he viewed it as one of the purest forms of ecclesiastical institution; as resting on the foundation of primitive episcopacy; as well fitted to enlighten its members in all things necessary to their happiness as the subjects of a free state; and, above all, as possessed of that full authority in spiritual matters, which alone can give confidence to the worshipper who wishes to be able to give a reason of the faith that is in him.

ART. III.—1.—*The Church and its Endowments. A Charge Delivered in the Autumn of 1831, at the Visitation in Hampshire.* By W. Dealtry, D.D. F.R.S., Chancellor of the Diocese. London: Hatchards. Clapham: Batten. Winchester: Jacob & Johnson. 1831.

2. *An Essay on the supposed Existence of a Quadripartite and Tripartite Division of Tithes in England, for Maintaining the Clergy, the Poor, and the Fabric of the Church.* By the Rev. William Hale Hale, M.A. Prebendary of St. Paul's, Preacher of the Charter-House, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London. London: Rivingtons, and Fellowes. 1832.

WE feel ourselves impelled, once more, by the above publications, to a resumption of the subject of Ecclesiastical Endowments, respecting which, the unanswerable work of Dr. Chalmers has, recently, afforded us an opportunity of offering some considerations to the public. It appears from Dr. Dealtry's Preface to his admirable Charge, that, at the time when he was preparing his sheets for the press, our paper on the subject was laid upon his table; and he has been pleased to express his gratification at finding that the masterly statements and arguments of Dr. Chalmers have, *at last*, attracted the notice, which they so richly merit from the friends of the Church. We must frankly confess that the justice we have rendered to that little volume has been somewhat of the tardiest! We can hardly, however, feel much regret for this purely accidental remissness on our part; since the effect of it has been to bring our incomparable auxiliary to the charge, just at the moment when the conflict was beginning to assume its most critical and furious aspect.

We entirely agree with Dr. Dealtry, that Dr. Chalmers has completely settled the question in debate,—if any thing could settle a question, one side of which is sure to call forth into violent action some of the most sordid passions of human nature. He has, undoubtedly, knocked out the adversary's brains; but then, unhappily, this is a battle which men can fight without brains as well as with them. Nothing is needful for the contest but a neck of iron, a brow of brass, a voice of thunder, and blood heated up to the boiling point of revolutionary phrenzy. All these glorious endowments appear, at the present moment, arrayed against institutions which—(independently of their value to Religion)—form one of the surest bulwarks to the general rights of property, and the demolition of which would, beyond all question, expose to imminent jeopardy the title of every landholder in the empire. So rapidly has this portentous *monomania* spread throughout the

realm, within the last year or two, that we are, sometimes, unable to banish from our thoughts the remark which was once made to a person engaged in a righteous contest against interest and power,—“Truly your condition is altogether desperate; you have nothing in the world on your side but Reason and Justice!”

In our brighter moments, however, our meditations are of a much more cheerful complexion. Reason and Justice, it is true, are sometimes but powerless allies: but we trust that it would be a libel on our country, to imagine her moral atmosphere to be, as yet, so saturated with pestilence, as wholly to have prostrated their hallowed strength. We, therefore, feel ourselves still animated to an unshaken reliance on their energy; feeling that all which they require on our parts is a fearless and reiterated appeal to their authority and protection. Accordingly, in compliance with this, “our bounden duty and service,” we return to the assault on all the folly and wickedness which are now marshalled against them: and we do this with the greater alacrity and confidence, since we go forth to the adventure in company with another champion of acknowledged vigour, of varied accomplishment, and of truly enlightened zeal.

It is avowed by Dr. Dealtry that the topics of his Charge have been selected mainly with a view to the increased circulation and notoriety of Dr. Chalmers’s disquisition; that he shall deem himself to have failed in his object, unless those, who desired its publication, shall likewise procure the work from which his leading arguments are derived; and that if, through his means, that work should be introduced into any districts of the country to which it has not already penetrated, he shall esteem himself to have rendered no mean service to the cause of justice and religion. It is needless for us to say how cordially we assent to every syllable of this declaration. The work of Dr. Chalmers ought, unquestionably, to be in the hands of every Clergyman who is desirous of knowing the strength of the case, and of seeing it put forth to the most commanding advantage. And we ardently hope, that the invitation of Dr. Dealtry will have the effect which he contemplates, and enable the ministers and the champions of our Church fully to estimate the value of their ally. It can scarcely be necessary for us to say more than this, after the testimony we have recently borne to the invaluable services rendered by Dr. Chalmers to the cause of literary and religious endowments. We therefore pass on to other matter.

Nothing can be more easy than to heap disparagement and contempt on a scheme which invests the ministers of Religion with the rights of property, and with titles of honour. Such

topics are irresistibly fascinating to vulgar ears, and, consequently, are unsparingly hackneyed by vulgar tongues, whether in high station or in low. "Touching distinctions bestowed on the clergy, for honour's sake," says Hooker, (whom we quote from memory)—"I hold it not safe to rehearse the same, lest the bowels of our *Godly brethren* should, thereby, haply burst in sunder:" a commotion with which the bowels of the *ungodly* are sure to manifest a very intimate and cordial sympathy. But what is honor and pre-eminence when stript of its more substantial accompaniments? And how can the ministers of Religion be more effectually rendered contemptible, than by consigning them to such a state of abject indigence, as shall represent the cause of piety in perpetual contact with all those sordid cares, and debasing anxieties, which tend to make men slaves, and to rob them of more than half their dignity and virtue? And how can this consummation be more effectually brought about than by contrasting the whole apparatus of tythes, and endowments, with the simplicity and poverty of the primitive emissaries of Christ? The children of this world have always been wise enough in their generation to see this; and, in faithful conformity with their crooked wisdom, they have always been full of alacrity and energy in urging this most edifying comparison. Is Episcopacy to be insulted and hooted down? We have only to think of the weariness and painfulness of the Apostles, and then to turn our eyes to their lordly successors, rolling down to Westminster in their cushioned chariots, and legislating in lawn among the hereditary barons of the realm. Are parsons to be hunted down, and driven out of the pale of human sympathy? What more can be needful, than first to cast our eyes on the original missionaries and Evangelists, wandering in hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom; and then to look upon the sleek and prosperous Incumbent, issuing forth on his periodical incursions upon the haycocks and sheaves of his laborious parishioners, and tickled into blissful slumbers by the magic touch of the "tythe pig's tail?" And what can be more clear and irresistible than the inference to be attained through all this process of incomparable *logic*, viz.: that Christianity will never flourish in the land, until the teachers of Christianity are content, like their Apostolic predecessors, to become a spectacle to the world, and the offscouring of all things?

It is not, perhaps, very wonderful that those precious speculations should *occasionally* exert a sinister and pernicious influence on many an honest and simple heart. For have not the same notions sometimes got possession of brains, which were inhabited by the loftiest aspirations after the moral and spiritual welfare of

man? Did not our Proto-Reformer, Wiclif himself go about barefoot, and clad in a coarse mantle of frieze? Did he not proclaim that endowments were as a mortal poison in the veins of the church? And did not his tongue first sound the trumpet note, which, more than a century after, swelled into the thunder that shook to pieces the gorgeous fabric of Ecclesiastical power and opulence? And, to come to that later period, did not many of the reformers of the 16th century assail with the wildest invective the secular and mercenary spirit of the Romish Priesthood, and declare that pomp, and wealth, and worldly comfort, were all of them, a downright insult upon the simple and self-denying spirit which becomes the Christian Ministry? And if this was the language of those virtuous and illustrious men, who shall dare to blame the fanatics of modern revolution for presuming to echo their words? Who shall say that the very doctrines, uttered by the deliverers of our Faith and Reason, must lose their force, even when yelled out by the fierce Apostles of the *intellectual* Dispensation? Why should devout and honest men, at the present day, be startled at sounds which were heard all over Europe in the great day of her spiritual Emancipation? It is true that the utter decay of learning, and the beggary and degradation of religious teachers, were among the *first* fruits of those enlightened principles. It is true that no sooner did the proselytes of the new opinions hear their Protestant teachers declaim against the abomination of converting the Gospel into a trade, than they flew upon the precious doctrine like men who had found great spoil, and instantly reduced the instruction to practice, by almost starving the ministers who delivered it.* But what of that? Did not these notions come abroad at that very period, the memory of which is consecrated by our rescue from Priestcraft and superstition? And ought they now to be discarded by us, who are enjoying the benefits of that mighty Revolution?

To the patrons of anarchy and impiety we offer not one syllable in reply to these extremely captivating and convenient speculations. Such men are covered over with a panoply,—very different indeed from the whole armour of light,—an incrustation which is able to turn back the edge of every weapon tempered in the armouries of equity and reason. To those, however, who are not cased in these sordid scales, we would reply by asking one simple question—When, since the days of the Apostles, was it ever known, that the interests of Religion were permanently and effectually promoted by a beggared ministry, abjectly dependent on the

* That this was eminently the case in the Southern parts of Europe, is mentioned, we believe, by Dr. M'Crie in his *History of the Reformation in Italy*; but we are unable at this moment to refer to the passage.

caprices, or fears, or passions of their flocks? The experiment was, indeed, once tried upon a vast scale, in the darker days of Europe—and its failure was egregious. The Mendicant orders began by the renunciation of all property, and by a systematic appeal to the bounty of the people. For a time, indeed, the success of the scheme was wonderful. The itinerant friars revived the decaying faith of Europe; their activity and their poverty rebuked and put to shame the plethoric indolence of the Hierarchy, and the torpid ignorance of the parochial Priesthood; and they were accordingly venerated as genuine representatives of Apostolic simplicity and self-denial. They began as missionaries—they ended as the itinerant pedlars of Superstition! They commenced their career as the luminaries of the world—they finished it as vile and pettifogging traffickers in imposture. They appeared at first as the reformers of Christendom—they became, at last, little better than a swarm of sturdy vagabonds, the pests of society, and the disgrace of Religion.

Aye—but these were the days of craft and delusion. It was then “the hour and the power” of spiritual darkness. The history of these times is, to us, of no more worth than an old astrological almanack. We must cast it aside, and bring the question to the test of a more enlightened age. Well, be it even so. Let us overleap the gulph of centuries, and alight, at once, upon the firm ground of modern days. The experiment of an unendowed and dependent ministry has now been tried, and is at this moment in a course of trial, throughout all the regions of Separatism: and what has been the result? For an answer to this question we may refer the reader, once more, to the work of Mr. Chalmers. We do not ask him to take the word of an Episcopalian Churchman. We only ask him to listen to the statements of a Presbyterian divine, who, though a member of an endowed establishment, hardly professes to regard Dissent as a serious evil. Doctor Chalmers will tell him that all the combined powers of the Dissenting system are so utterly unequal to the mightiness of the work to be accomplished, that, but for the labours of an endowed and local ministry, vast districts and provinces would, unavoidably, be consigned to a famine of the word of God.—He will set before the enquirers the throes and pangs through which the conventicle struggles into existence; the difficulty with which it is reared up into any semblance of strength and usefulness, the frequency with which the whole scheme terminates in a mere abortion. He will, moreover, present him with the afflicting spectacle of many a conscientious and laborious minister, delivered over to the cruellest distraction of worldly care, often disabled from escaping the degradation of debt, and thus blasted in

peace, and reputation, and hope of usefulness. All this is laid before us by a witness, whose testimony is absolutely beyond all reach of suspicion: and all this, too, is a melancholy representation which may be realized by any one who has eyes to see, and ears to hear, and understanding to comprehend, and patience to enquire. And yet this is the system, the triumph of which is to restore the age of Apostolic power and purity, and to discharge from the veins of God's Church the venom which, for ages, has been contaminating and consuming her!

And then let us look to Ireland—to Catholic Ireland—blest as she is with a Priesthood, who, by the mouth of their national Pontiff, Doctor Doyle, send forth words of contempt and aversion for the wealth which once was theirs, and declare that they never will again lay hands upon the accursed thing, though the spoils of the Protestant hierarchy were spread out at their feet. Look, we say, at Catholic Ireland: and then pronounce whether we can find in her history and condition, during the last three centuries, any thing to enamour us of a religious ministry which, day by day, eats the bread of dependence? The field which is, here, before us, is one of vast extent; much too vast to be explored by our brief and hasty labours. But we confidently leave the question to be answered by dispassionate common sense, improved by attentive observation—Is the religious and moral state of Romish Ireland fitted to reconcile us to the demolition of all religious endowments? Endowed, or unendowed, a Popish Priesthood—it may be said—must always be expected to exert a pernicious influence on the public morals. But, if the influence of an endowed Romish Priesthood be pernicious, what must be the influence of such a priesthood when it owes its daily support to the incessant exercise of its power over the mind and conscience of a grossly unenlightened population? What must be the effect of a system which places unlimited spiritual despotism in the hands of ignorance and poverty?—a system which converts the very dependence of the clergy into the direst instrument of their moral dominion? These are very appalling, though very obvious questions. And for the answer to these questions,—we repeat it,—we have only to refer to the present condition of Papal Ireland. Whether it is the duty of a Protestant legislature to provide a legal maintenance for a Popish ministry, is a question which we leave wholly untouched. We advert to the case before us, simply as we find it existing. We advert to it merely as one among other cases of unendowed Religion; and we do so for the sole purpose of eliciting an answer to this question—namely, Is this a case that can afford any support to the theory, which represents the absence of all endowments as essen-

tial to the interests of piety and virtue? Is this an experiment which can furnish the slightest sanction to those Protestants, who threaten their own national hierarchy with schemes of spoliation and demolition?

But, still it may be said, that the question has not been fairly met: it is one which can only be decided by an experiment conducted on a grand and national scale. And where are we to look for such an experiment but to the world of Transatlantic Protestantism—to a form of society which may be said to have started in something like perfection from the head of its parent, armed at all points with the arts and appliances of civilized life, and yet fresh as childhood from the trammels and ligaments of ancient prejudice. *Protestant America* has no religious endowments: Christianity there is neither aided, or encumbered, by the bounty of pious founders, or the patronage of the secular power. And yet in *Protestant America* the hopes and prospects of Christianity are as bright as in Protestant Great Britain. We well remember the time when this language was current, not only with radicals, or separatists—but even with some among certain members of our own establishment, who, of course, looked with no “jealous leer malign” upon the religious and literary institutions of our forefathers. We hope and trust that they know better now, than to talk of the success of this grand experiment on the other side of the Atlantic. If they do not, we earnestly recommend them to meditate on the statements and the reflections of a distinguished divine of that country, whose testimony has been produced by Dr. Dealtry in support of his own argument. The writer in question is, in all respects, an unexceptionable witness. Not being an Englishman, his judgment is free from all British associations or prepossessions. Not being an Episcopalian, he cannot have been dazzled by the splendours of our ancient hierarchy. His testimony is applicable to the question, in its most general and naked form,—is the want of endowments favourable, or pernicious, to the cause of a national Religion? And upon this point, as Dr. Dealtry informs us, the following is a summary of the representations of Dr. Dwight.

“In Connecticut, he tells us, there was, when he wrote, a compulsory tax, under the authority of the government, for the support of religious worship, each individual being at liberty to select the ecclesiastical society which he chose to support, but each being compelled to contribute to some one society. In the states south of New England, there was no provision by law for the establishment of public worship. And what was the result? In these last states there were 430 congregations, of which 160 were vacant; had the proportion been, for the population, the same as in Connecticut, the number of congregations, instead of

430, would have been 3,344. Again: the number of ministers settled was 209; it ought by the same rule to have been 3,024.

“ ‘ In this estimate,’ proceeds my author, ‘ we have a fair specimen of the natural consequence of establishing, or neglecting to establish, the public worship of God by the law of the land. In Connecticut, every inhabitant who is not precluded by disease or inclination may hear the Gospel, and celebrate the public worship of God every Sabbath. In the states specified, it is not improbable that a number of people, several times as great as the census of Connecticut, have scarcely heard a sermon or a prayer in their lives.’—pp. 14, 15.

We cannot, however, prevail upon ourselves to dismiss this part of the subject, with this mere abridgment of Dr. Dwight’s opinions; and we shall, accordingly, avail ourselves of the facility, afforded us by Dr. Dealtry, of exhibiting them at greater length. The following extract from his writings is printed among the notes to this Charge, and is well worthy of the attention of those who desire to reach the pith and marrow of this great question. It furnishes a contrast which ought to put that question at rest for ever: and we, therefore, earnestly solicit of our readers that they will fix it in their recollection, in order that they may be in a condition to put to silence the weakness or the wickedness of those, who may appeal to America for a vindication of their hostilities against all endowed establishments.

“ The author having taken his estimate from the number of Presbyterian congregations, guards against a possible objection on that head (p. 398); and, observing that an examination of the religious state of Massachusetts would have given a result not essentially different, concludes thus:

“ ‘ In a happy conformity to this estimate and the scheme here supported, has been the prevalence of religion in these two States. It is doubted whether there is a collection of Ministers in the world whose labours have been more prosperous, or under whose preaching a greater proportion of those who heard them have become the subjects of real piety. I know of no country in which revivals of religion have been so frequent, or, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, so extensive, as in these two States. God, therefore, may be considered as having thus far manifested his own approbation of the system. If at the same time we advert to the peace, the good order, the regular distribution of justice, the universal existence of schools, the universal enjoyment of the education which they communicate, and the extension of superior education, it will be difficult for a sober man not to perceive that the smiles of Heaven have regularly accompanied this system from its commencement to the present time. I need not, however, have gone any farther for the illustration of this subject than to a comparison of the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut. The former of these, independently of Providence, Newport, and two or three other small towns, is, in all these important particulars, a mere contrast to the latter. Yet

these states were planted by colonies from the same nation, lie in the same climate, and are separated merely by a meridional line. A sober man, who knows them both, can hardly hesitate, whatever may have been his original opinion concerning the subject, to believe that a legislature is bound to *establish* the public worship of God.'—vol. iv. p. 398.

"Of Rhode Island, mentioned in the above extract, Dr. Dwight gives some information in other parts of his work.

" 'The inhabitants of this State, in opposition to the rest of their New-England brethren, have uniformly refused to support the public worship of God by law, or, in other words, to make a legal provision for the support of ministers and churches. A contract between a minister and his congregation for his maintenance they have placed on the same footing as contracts made at the gaming table. Hence, except in their large towns, a minister liberally educated cannot often be found. Hence the places of such ministers are filled by plain ignorant individuals. Ordinarily these are farmers and mechanics, who push themselves into the desk for two reasons; to avoid labour, and to display their gifts; or, in other words, from sloth and spiritual pride. In the desk, almost all such men vociferate in a manner which in every other place would be thought grossly indecent; distort doctrines and precepts; dishonour ordinances; pervert the meaning of the Scriptures; and murder arguments and language. They are destitute of dignity, propriety, and candour; coarse and clownish in their manners; uncouth in their elocution; and in their discourses clumsy and ridiculous. Next to a wicked ministry, the greatest evil that can befall a church is a weak ministry.'

" 'The manners of the body of the people differ materially from those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as you will easily determine from the observations already made. The vices of ignorant people are always low, vulgar, and almost always predominant. Horse-racing has for a long period been a favourite pursuit. This gross amusement turns polished men into clowns, and clowns into brutes.

" 'The Sabbath, with a great part of this people, is merely a day of visiting and sport. Many of the inhabitants have customarily devoted it to labour. A considerable number of persons in the trading towns, Providence excepted, have been deeply engaged in the slave trade. Some of the missionary societies have in their proceedings considered Rhode-Island as missionary ground.'—vol. iii. p. 53—55.

"For these Rhode-Islanders our author seems not to have cherished any very profound feeling of respect.

" 'The people of Providence expended upon this road, as we are informed, the whole sum permitted by the legislature. This was sufficient to make only those parts which I have mentioned. The turnpike company then applied to the legislature for leave to expend such an additional sum as would complete the work. The legislature refused. The principal reason for the refusal, as alleged by one of the members, it is said, was the following:—That turnpikes, and the establishment of religious worship, had their origin in Great Britain: the government of

which was a monarchy, and the inhabitants slaves; that the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut were obliged by law to support ministers, and pay the fare of turnpikes, and were therefore slaves also; that, if they chose to be slaves, they undoubtedly had a right to their choice; but that free-born Rhode-Islanders ought never to submit to be priest-ridden, nor to pay for the privilege of travelling on the high-way. This demonstrative reasoning prevailed; and the road continued in the state which I have mentioned until the year 1805. It was then completed, and free-born Rhode-Islanders bowed their necks to the slavery of travelling on a good road.'—Vol. ii. p. 27.

"Since the death of Dr. Dwight, a new constitution has been adopted in Connecticut, and an important alteration has been made with respect to public worship, rendering it optional to every individual, whether he will support any religious society at all, but empowering each denomination to levy the necessary rates on those who continue in connexion with it. That this system will ere long leave a large part of the population destitute of the benefit of public worship can scarcely be doubted. 'We have heard,' says Dr. Chalmers, 'that in New Hampshire the laws of a compulsory provision for the teachers of Christianity have recently been abolished, and with this effect, that in many instances, when a chapel has become vacant by the death of the incumbent, his place has not been supplied; and the district which enjoyed his services, now left without any Sabbath ministrations whatever, gives melaucholy attestation to the native listlessness and unconcern of its families.'—*On Endowments*, p. 110.

"The reader who wishes for other and additional testimony as to the evil consequences of leaving religion to itself, without any aggressive system to extend its blessings, may turn to the appalling evidence of Mr. Mills, cited by Dr. Chalmers, p. 189, or that of Mr. Bristed and Dr. Mason, given in Archdeacon Lyall's Charge, p. 15. What Christian, who considers these awful statements,—the alleged probability, that within fifty years, 'our federative republic will number within its bosom more than twenty millions of unbaptized infidels,'—or the tremendous *fact*, that 'we have already a population of some millions of our own colour, flesh and blood, nearly as destitute of evangelical mercies as the savage who yells on the banks of the Missouri:'—who that considers these things can doubt for one moment of the necessity of some aggressive plan of Christian instruction, under the sanction of the state?—of some establishment, *by law*, to check this increasing population of heathenism?"—pp. 36. 39.*

We have here, not only opinions, but facts: not merely the conviction of a Christian minister, that Christian societies are bound to provide for the spiritual welfare of their subjects, but the ascertained consequences of a system which is founded on a contrary principle. In Connecticut, till lately, the worship of

* There is now lying before us an American Almanac for the year 1832, which, among other miscellaneous information, contains a table exhibiting the various Sects among which the Christian population of North America is divided, and the numbers attached

God was established and supported by law; and the effect was seen in the moral and religious habits of the people. The Christian liberty of the Rhode-Islanders rejected, in high disdain, this villainous memorial of British slavery; and the consequences were—just what any reasonable man would expect—the degradation of God's worship by ignorance, clownishness, and coarse buffoonery, and the contamination of the public manners by the vilest infusions of vulgar and brutal profligacy. Turnpike roads and religious establishments were, both of them, hatched in that land of bondage, the mother-country, and, therefore, were both equally unfit for a nation of free-born men! The inestimable privilege of travelling in discomfort and danger has, it seems, been abandoned. But, we fear, it is rather too much to expect that the spirit of these magnanimous patriots will ever submit to the burden of forming "a highway for the Lord" through the moral wilderness of their land: especially since their brethren of Connecticut have recently set them the example of a salutary *reform* in this department of their constitution!

to such Sect. We here subjoin it, as illustrative, *not* indeed of the point immediately under consideration, but of the present state of religious opinion in that country.

| DENOMINATIONS. | Ministers. | Church, or Congregation | Communi- cants. | Population. |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Calvinistic Baptists..... | 2,914 | 4,584 | 304,827 | 2,743,453 |
| Methodist Episcopal Church..... | 1,777 | ..... | 476,000 | 2,600,000 |
| Presbyterians, General Assembly..... | 1,801 | 2 253 | 182,017 | 1,800,000 |
| Congregationalists, Orthodox..... | 1,000 | 1,270 | 140,000 | 1,260,000 |
| Protestant Episcopal Church..... | 558 | 700 | ..... | 600,000 |
| Universalists..... | 150 | 300 | ..... | 500,000 |
| Roman Catholics..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 500,000 |
| Lutherans..... | 205 | 1,200 | 44,000 | 400,000 |
| Christians..... | 2 0 | 800 | 25,000 | 275,000 |
| German Reformed..... | 4 | 400 | 17,400 | 200,000 |
| Friends, or Quakers..... | ..... | 400 | ..... | 200,000 |
| Unitarians, Congregationalists..... | 160 | 193 | ..... | 176,000 |
| Associate or other Methodists..... | 350 | ..... | 35,000 | 175,000 |
| Free-will Baptists..... | 300 | 400 | 16,000 | 150,000 |
| Dutch Reformed..... | 159 | 194 | 17,888 | 126,000 |
| Menonites..... | 200 | ..... | 30,000 | 120,000 |
| Associate Presbyterians..... | 74 | 144 | 15,000 | 100,000 |
| Cumberland Presbyterians..... | 50 | 75 | 8,000 | 100,000 |
| Tunkers..... | 40 | 40 | 3,000 | 30,000 |
| Free Communion Baptists..... | 30 | .. | 3,500 | 30,000 |
| Seventh-day Baptists..... | 30 | 40 | 2,000 | 20,000 |
| Six principal Baptists..... | 25 | 50 | 1,800 | 20,000 |
| United Brethren or Moravians..... | 23 | 23 | 2,000 | 7,000 |
| Millennial Church or Shakers..... | 45 | 15 | ..... | 6,000 |
| New Jerusalem Church..... | 30 | 28 | ..... | 5,000 |
| Emancipators, Baptists..... | 15 | .. | 600 | 4,500 |
| Jews and others not mentioned..... | ..... | 150 | ..... | 50,000 |

But there is another formidable objection to tithes, and Church-lands, and in short to every variety of religious endowment. They are not only unserviceable, or, as some will have it, absolutely pernicious, to the cause of religion—they are positively iniquitous. They are a practical negation of the tolerating principle, which is the peculiar and essential glory of the Protestant faith: for what can be more flagitious than the compulsion of Catholics and Separatists to *pay* for the support of a religion which they do not profess? The answer to all this is perfectly obvious. They *pay* for no such thing. To say that dissenting or Catholic leaseholders under the Church *pay* for the support of the Anglican establishment is just as absurd, as it is to say that the same class of persons, holding under lay landlords, who are members of the Protestant Church, are *paying* to support, in affluence and luxury, the enemies of their religion. What is true of rent is substantially true of tithes, which a scheme of equitable composition may always identify with a portion of the rent. The distinguishing excellence of a system of endowments is precisely this,—that they impose a tax on no mortal in the community. They assign a share of the national property to a peculiar class of persons; but the collection or the enjoyment of that share can never, without the most resolute abuse of language, be said to lay an impost upon those who are bound by law to render it. Nothing, it must be allowed, can be more natural than a vehement desire on the part of Catholics and Dissenters, that the portion of wealth now in question should be dedicated to the encouragement of that form of religion which they themselves profess. This is nothing more than what might reasonably be felt by members of the present establishment, if tithes and Church-rents should be diverted from their present channel into the regions of Dissent or Romanism. But, in either case, this complaint would, virtually, resolve itself merely into a strong opinion, that the present constitution of society had failed to effect the most judicious of all possible applications of the national resources. An iniquitous and oppressive impost is one thing—a questionable distribution of property, most assuredly, is a very different thing.

By way of illustration, let us imagine that a number of Christians were allowed to hold leases in a Mahomedan land; and that, previously to the conclusion of their bargain, they were distinctly informed that the whole of the rent, or a portion of the produce, was the property of a college of dancing Dervises. They might, in their secret hearts, very justly regret that such an amount of wealth should be at the disposal of what they might deem a stupid and ferocious superstition; but where could they

hope to find a reasonable man, whether Mahomedan or Christian, who would sympathize with their complaints, that they were *personally* burdened with the support of foolery and imposture? To put the case in a still more striking point of view; let us imagine that the Mahometan religion were allowed by law to endow itself with lands and tithes in this Christian country. The leaseholders, and the tithe-payers might, righteously enough, deplore the insatiation of a Christian legislature, in permitting this "abomination of desolation" thus to fix itself where it ought not to be. But what right could they have to complain, that the Christian legislature had laid a *tax* upon them, expressly for the maintenance of the Crescent, in a realm dedicated to the Cross? Even so, Catholics may look with horror upon a schismatic and heretical Church; Sectarians may look with scorn upon an episcopal establishment; but neither Catholic nor Sectarian is in a condition to raise the outcry, that he is obliged to *pay* for the support of heretical opinion, or vicious discipline. No *reform* that could be effected would reduce his *payments* by a single farthing. It would do no more than alter the application of those payments. The change might, perhaps, be very consolatory to the moral and religious sensibilities of the individual, but it would do absolutely nothing for the relief of his purse.

All objections of this kind, therefore, as we have intimated before, do really resolve themselves into a controversy upon the question, whether the title to property is essentially vitiated, by its application to a purpose, which may be disapproved by those who happen to be the immediate agents and instruments in its distribution. And how this controversy ought to be decided must be irresistibly obvious to every one who has not consecrated all his faculties to the holy cause of revolution and spoliation. But the armoury of opposition is not easily emptied. There still remains under the elbow of the gainsayer, a store of goodly shafts, which whistle most delectably in the ear of the intelligent. Let it be granted for a moment, saith the adversary, that endowments properly so called, stand precisely on the same ground as all other property; there are, still, certain iniquitous exactions and assessments, in favour of the Church, to which no ingenuity can assign any other character, than that of an impost. Dissenters and Catholics, for instance, are compelled to submit to Church-rates; and grants are sometimes made by the legislature for the purpose of building additional Churches, the burden of which falls, indiscriminately, upon all religious persuasions throughout the empire. The question now before us involves, it may frankly be confessed, some considerations, which are without that transparent simplicity which belongs to the case of

ecclesiastical property. It cannot be denied that the assessments alluded to, have a much closer resemblance to taxation, than the endowments and revenues of the Church. The legislature, as we contend, although it may have a *technical*, is totally destitute of a *moral* right, to confiscate the possessions of the establishment. But this is, perhaps, something more than can be confidently affirmed of their right to abolish all levies of money for the construction and support of parochial places of worship. The power of the legislature to sanction such levies, it may be said, must stand or fall with the obligation of the state to maintain any national system of religion at all. And, if this be admitted, it will be difficult to enter upon a vindication of this right, without likewise entering into a general discussion of the propriety and the necessity of religious establishments, in all the vast compass of that momentous question. If the connection between the Church and the State could be abolished to-morrow, the dissolution of this bond could never be held to justify an invasion of the property which is held by the functionaries or corporations of the present establishment. It could do nothing more than to bring down the Church to the same dead level with all other religious denominations. To effect such a dissolution, would virtually be to say to the Church, "take your revenues, and manage them in your own way; we have no more right to violate your possessions than those of any other corporation or society; but henceforth, you must consider yourselves as nothing more than a powerful and, *collectively*, a wealthy sect. You must claim no precedence in the estimation of the State. You must henceforth renounce all pretensions to the character of a *national* establishment. You may, perhaps, retain much more influence than any other religious body: but such influence must, from this time forth, be derived wholly from your own resources. You must expect no peculiar countenance or patronage from the legislature." The effect of such a separation as we have contemplated, would leave wholly untouched the *moral* right of ecclesiastical corporations to their temporal endowments; but it might certainly bring into serious question the right of the Church to impose taxes upon the whole community for the maintenance of any part of her system. This is a right which, as we have said before, must depend, more immediately, upon the answer to the general question, whether the state is justified in giving any precedence, whether of honor or advantage, to any form of religious persuasion whatever?—a question much too important and comprehensive to be disposed of in a brief essay like the present.

As this question, however, has not yet been decided in the negative, we shall feel ourselves warranted in assuming, for the time,

that all ecclesiastical assessments stand upon a footing *at least* as firm as any other assessments made upon principles of *general* policy and convenience. We shall consider Church rates, for instance, as resting upon the same ground as other national or local imposts—as rates for lighting and paving the streets—as county rates of every description—lastly, as rates for the relief of the poor. There is not one of these taxes which is beyond the reach of assault from ignorance, avarice, or perverseness. Men might doubtless be found, who would gladly be relieved from all payments for gas-light, upon the pretence that their purposes would be as effectually, and much more cheaply answered, by carrying a lantern with them after sunset. Others might raise a clamour against paving rates, as a needless and effeminate refinement of modern civilization. And then, think upon the vast body of *dissent* which is at this moment in active operation against the whole system of poor laws. Nay, what tax under heaven would stand a moment, if its existence depended on any thing like unanimity of public approbation. The Quakers object to taxation for the purposes of war. Suppose, then, that all the dissenters in the realm were animated by the same pacific principles—to what fearful jeopardy would the naval and military *establishments* of the empire be speedily reduced. Now it so happens that all the dissenters (with some few honourable exceptions) are quite as vehemently adverse to religious *establishments* as the Quakers are to military *establishments*. And the answer to all such objectors is essentially the same. They are required to contribute to the support of our national institutions of every description, because such institutions are deemed necessary to the *general* welfare, either secular or spiritual. And until it can be shown, beyond all reasonable controversy, that these institutions are useless or pernicious, we trust that the legislature will be deaf to the clamour of those who would urge them to emulation of the illustrious patriots of Rhode Island. We trust that they will never suffer themselves to be “provoked to jealousy” by the example of that “foolish people,” whose love of liberty was, at one time, vehement enough to reconcile them to the danger of dislocated limbs, or broken necks, every time that they stirred from their homes. If good roads and Church establishments be badges of servitude, we hope that Britain will be content, for many a generation to come, to remain on the catalogue of slavish and degraded nations.

In our preceding remarks on the subject of ecclesiastical assessments, we have, it will be observed, treated this matter as if Church rates fell indisputably within the designation of a tax. We cannot, however, consent to quit the subject without remarking, that the propriety of this admission may be open to fair and

reasonable question. It is actually brought into question by Dr. Dealtry, who has produced some considerations, which, without any violence or perversion, seem to place Church rates upon a footing much more similar to that of endowments, than the enemies of the establishment will probably be willing to allow. He observes that the imposition of rates for the reparation of churches has been sanctioned by the immemorial usage of ages—by a custom so ancient, and so uninterrupted, as to warrant the inference, that the original patrons left their property to their heirs, subject to that charge. It is scarcely possible, on any other supposition, to account for the fact, that parishes have always been bound to contribute to such repairs. He further observes, that “property has changed hands again and again, with the knowledge, on the part of the purchasers, that such a condition existed; and if, as is very probable, it has ever been overlooked in the purchase-money, it is because the amount of the charge has generally been too contemptible to deserve attention.”* If this view of the matter be correct—and it undoubtedly carries with it a great appearance of probability—the payment of Church rates will be invested with much of the same character which belongs to the most unquestionable revenues of the Church. Be this, however, as it may—a legal provision for the support of places of worship, must indisputably be reckoned among the most beneficial consequences of a religious establishment. The truth of this assertion has been placed beyond controversy by Dr. Chalmers.† The legislature must, therefore, be deeply smitten with the revolutionary infection, before it can be conscious of morbid strength sufficient for the demolition of such a safeguard to the Christianity of the empire.

In aid of our speculations respecting religious establishments, we cannot forbear to invite the reader to certain reflections of Dr. Dwight, on the duty of every Christian legislature to make the national religion a prime object of his care—reminding him, once more, that the writer in question is neither an Englishman nor an Episcopalian, and that his remarks relate entirely to the *general principle* of this sacred obligation. We supplicate the earnest attention of the British public to the observations of this divine. They must, we think, satisfy every man capable of dispassionate meditation on the subject, that nothing can be more vicious and more destructive than the theory, which places religion beyond the pale of all secular government, and which maintains that the best service which magistrates or law-givers can do for Christianity, is to leave it wholly to itself. The following extract is to be found

* Dealtry, p. 57.

† On Endowments, p. 128, and Note I, p. 190.

in a note appended to Dr. Dealtry's Charge. It is somewhat copious, but will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

“ ‘ The legislature of every state is the proper superintendent of all its prudential concerns. It has not only a right, but is obliged by an authority, which it can neither oppose nor question, to pursue every lawful and expedient measure for the promotion of the public welfare. To this great purpose religion in every country is not only useful but indispensable. But religion cannot exist, and has never existed for any length of time, without public worship. As every man ought, therefore, willingly to contribute to the support of whatever increases his own prosperity; he is by immovable consequence obliged to support the religion which, by increasing the common prosperity, increases of course his own. Should an advocate for the doctrine, which I oppose, demand proof, that religion is indispensable to the welfare of a free country, this is my answer. Morality, as every sober man, who knows any thing of the subject, discerns with a glance, is merely a branch of religion; and where there is no religion there is no morality. Moral obligation has its sole ground in the character and government of God. But where God is not worshipped, his character will soon be disregarded; and the obligation, founded upon it, unfelt and forgotten. No duty, therefore, to individuals, or to the public will be realized or performed. Justice, kindness, and truth, the great hinges on which free society hangs, will be unpractised, because there will be no motives to the practice of sufficient force to resist the passions of man. Oaths of office, and of testimony, alike, without the sanctions of religion, are merely solemn farces. Without the sense of accountableness to God, without the realizing belief of a future retribution, they are employed only to insult the Creator, deprave the juror, and cheat his fellow men. This sense nothing but religion can inspire or preserve. With the loss of religion, therefore, the ultimate foundation of confidence is blown up; and the security of life, liberty, and property, buried in the ruins.’ ”—*Dwight's Travels*, vol. iv. p. 390.

“ ‘ After showing that no free state has ever existed for any length of time without religion, noticing the beneficial effects of the religion of Great Britain, Switzerland, &c., to those countries respectively, and dwelling upon the tremendous consequences, as exhibited in France, of establishing a free government without religion, Dr. Dwight reasons again with his supposed opponent in the following terms :—

“ ‘ Finally, he is to be informed, that it is wiser, more humane, and more effectual, to prevent crimes, than to punish them. He is to be told, what he cannot deny, that religion is the only great preventive of crimes; and contributes more, in a far more desirable manner, to the peace and good order of society, than the judge and the sheriff, the gaol and the gibbet united. He is to be reminded that mankind, with all the influence of religion, added to that of the civil government, are still imperfectly governed, are less orderly, peaceful, and friendly to each other, than humanity must wish; and that therefore, he who would willingly lessen this influence is a fool, he who would destroy it, a madman.

“ ‘ I am well aware that in spite of this and any other reasoning, in spite of demonstration itself, there are men, who may, and in all probability will, say, that, however good and useful the public worship of God may be, they do not wish to avail themselves of its benefits, and owe therefore no contributions to its support. To these men I reply, that he who has no children, or who does not wish to send his children to school, and he who does not use the roads and bridges of his country, because he is either necessitated or inclined to stay at home, may on exactly the same ground claim an exemption from supporting schools, roads and bridges. To such an objector it is a sufficient answer, that these things enter into all the happiness which he enjoys, and that without them, he and his countrymen would be hermits and savages. Without religion man becomes in a short time a beast of prey, and wastes the happiness of his fellow-men with as little remorse as the wolf or the tiger, and to a degree which leaves their ravages out of remembrance. Even if this were not the melancholy fact, the list of individual enjoyments is as much more valuable in a community where religion prevails, than where it does not, as the safety, peace and pleasure of civilized society are more desirable than the exposure, discord and misery, produced by the furious and malignant passions of uncultivated man.’—vol. iv. p. 392.

“ To a similar purport he observes in another place, ‘ Had the constitution empowered the legislature to *require*, and not merely to *authorize*, all the inhabitants to contribute, proportionably, towards the maintenance of public worship, reserving at the same time the rights of conscience, it would have been happier. This truth is sufficiently illustrated by the present state of religion in New Hampshire. The existing laws on this subject are such upon the whole, as to leave it extensively at loose ends. Of all religious sects, those which owe their existence to the reluctance, felt by every avaricious man, to support the public worship of God, are the worst in their character and the most hopeless of reformation. Arguments to enforce the duty of opening the purse are addressed to a heart of stone, and an intellect of lead. The very fact that a man has quitted on this ground a religion, which he approved, for one which he disapproved, will make him an enemy to the former, and a zealot for the latter. Conviction and principle are here out of the question. The only enquiry, the only thought, is concerning a sum of money, so pitiful, that the proprietor himself is ashamed of being even suspected of his real design. In itself it is a base fraud; and all the measures employed to carry it into execution, partake of the same baseness. To preserve his pelf, the man belies his conscience and insults his Maker. To appease the one, and soothe the other, and at the same time to preserve some appearance of character among his neighbours, he endeavours to make up in the show of zeal what he so evidently lacks of common honesty. Hence he becomes enthusiastic, bigoted, censorious, impervious to conviction, a wanderer after every straggling exhorter, and every bewildered tenet: and thus veers from one folly and falsehood to another, and another, throughout his life. This conduct is

often challenged as a mere exercise of the rights of conscience; but conscience is equally a stranger to the conduct and the man.

“ ‘ The real consequence of this state of things is that disregard to moral obligation, that indifference to the Creator and his laws, to the soul and his future destiny, which is emphatically called *nihilism*. Men may be irreligious under a settled system of doctrines and duties; but, while life lasts, there is always a hope remaining, that they may return to a better character; because there are means within their reach, by which their return may possibly be accomplished. In the present case duty to the soul and its salvation are bartered for a sum of money; that is, for the purpose of saving a sum of money, which cannot be grudged without meanness, nor mentioned without a blush.’ ”—vol. iv. 161.

We consider Dr. Dealtry as having done signal and essential service to the cause of religious establishments in general, by distinctly laying these statements and opinions of the Transatlantic divine before the British public; for in so doing he may, without exaggeration, be said to have completed the demonstration of this proposition—that, in some shape or other, such establishments are indispensable to the moral health of every country. Whether supported by endowments, or by taxation, or by both together, such institutions must be regarded as the one needful thing, without which it can be scarcely reasonable for a Christian people to hope for the Divine Blessing upon their counsels or their undertakings. Another good effect, that must result from the circulation of these statements, is, that they must utterly demolish the arguments hitherto derived from the practice of our American brethren. It is quite clear that, from this moment, there must be an end to all appeals to the example of that country; or, if appeals are to be made, they must unquestionably be made, with triumphant success, not by the enemies, but by the friends, of our religious institutions. Think of the tremendous *probability* above stated, that, within fifty years, the “ *federative republic will number within its bosom more than twenty millions of unbaptized infidels.*” Think of the tremendous *fact*, that, at this moment, they “ *have already a population of some millions of their own colour, flesh and blood, nearly as destitute of evangelical mercies as the savage who yells on the banks of the Missouri.*”^{*} Let the honest and conscientious adversary of endowments and establishments think deeply of these things; and then there can be little doubt that he will speedily join with a correspondent of Dr. Dealtry’s, who has no connection with the Church of England, in the fervent exclamation—“ Heaven preserve your venerable Hierarchy; may no weapon formed against it ever prosper.”[†]

* Dealtry, p. 39, Note D.

† Ibid. Preface, p. 5.

Some considerable portion of Dr. Dealtry's appendix is devoted to the consideration of a question which, of late, has been discussed with no ordinary vehemence; namely, whether the endowments of the English Church were ever divided into four equal parts, (either originally, by the expressed design of the founders, or subsequently, by ecclesiastical canons and ordinances,) such parts being respectively destined for the support of the poor, the clergy, the bishop, and the fabric of the Church—an arrangement from which it would follow, that, the bishops being now otherwise provided for, one-third of the proceeds of all Church benefices belongs, of right, to the poor, and one-third to the fabric, the remaining third alone being appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy. We have no intention to retail or recapitulate the arguments which have so repeatedly been produced relative to this subject. We refer the reader to a note of Dr. Dealtry's,* which, within a small compass, will put him in full possession of the merits of the question. For the sake, however, of those readers whose languid interest, or flagging industry, may have failed to supply them with distinct notions on this matter, we shall merely submit the result to their consideration in a plain and popular form.

What, then, is the real case? In order to apprehend it correctly, we must carry our thoughts back to those days, when Christian churches were first planted in a land emerging from heathenism. In those times, then, be it remembered, the bishop and his clergy together, may be considered as taking up a sort of missionary position in a district, from which the clergy issued forth to spread the knowledge and the power of the Christian faith. On this spot they all lived together. There existed, then, no parochial churches. The clergy, in their turns, went out on their charitable and pious expeditions, from which they returned to their only home, the common residence of the prelate and his presbyters. At that period, moreover, the only maintenance of these teachers was derived from the pious liberality of their converts, who made offerings, for this purpose, of every species of property, and, in the time of harvest, contributed a portion of their produce—usually a tenth. Of the funds thus voluntarily contributed, the bishop was naturally the distributor; and to what purposes could he apply these resources but to the support of himself and his ministers, the upholding the places of worship, and the relief of the infirm and helpless members of the household of faith?

This simple condition of things, however, was not to continue for ever. In process of time parochial churches were built; and,

* Dealtry, Note I. p. 46.

upon an understanding with the bishops, were permanently endowed with that tenth of the agricultural produce, which otherwise would have been rendered to the common fund: and, in many cases, a certain portion of land was added to the endowment. The clergy then, instead of the itinerant and missionary character which belonged to them at the first planting of Christianity, began to assume the character of local and stationary ministers; a change which, inevitably, put an end to the adjustment which regulated the application of the original and common fund. The clergy, from that time, lived on the local endowments of their respective churches; the poor were relieved out of the charitable offerings of the congregation; and the repair of the fabric was probably divided between the patron and the incumbent: the bishop, all this while, being maintained by revenues, specially appropriated to his see, by the bounty of kings, and nobles, and other proprietors of land. And the consequence of this gradual change was, that the bishop, the clergy, the fabric, and the helpless poor, had each of them a distinct and appropriate fund for their support; a state of things which rendered the threefold or fourfold division of earlier times unnecessary and scarcely practicable.

In the course of ages, however, the possessions of the Church accumulated to an enormous amount; and infinite complication was introduced into the whole subject of ecclesiastical property, by the establishment of religious houses, by the appropriation of rectories, and the grievous reduction of mere parochial endowments. In the midst of all this scramble and confusion, attempts were often made to revive, by canons and constitutions, the spirit of the ancient and original division of ecclesiastical revenue. One thing, however, seems to be placed beyond dispute by the inquiries which have been instituted on this subject—that no authority can be produced by which any such division has ever been made the law of the English Church. It is, moreover, quite evident, that if any such law were now in existence, it must, in all equity, be operative, not merely on parochial endowments, but on the whole collective mass of ecclesiastical revenue, without exception; since, in the original state of things, the distribution in question was not confined to any one department of that revenue, but fell indiscriminately on the whole. And if it should be contended that this principle of distribution ought, at this moment, to be observed, we have a very simple answer for all who can gravely maintain so extravagant a proposition—an answer which relieves us from all necessity of plunging into the labyrinth of canonical erudition—namely, that such a rule of distribution, if it ever existed, has been for ever repealed. It has been repealed, not by the

letter of a formal and express abrogation, but by something, to say the least of it, quite as imperative. It has been repealed by necessity. It has been repealed by the spoliation inflicted on the Church by the unprincipled rapacity of laymen in the sixteenth century. Even if canon upon canon could now be produced, written with a pen of steel upon tablets of adamant, in support of such a distribution, still we contend that they would all amount, at this day, to little more than a dead letter. Or, if any attempt were made to enforce them, the only effect would be, to open "a lower deep in that lowest deep" of beggary and degradation, into which a large portion of the parochial clergy were plunged by the ruthless spirit of confiscation under the Tudor dynasty.

Support the Christian poor out of the revenues of the Church! Why, can anything be required, in order to expose the prodigious absurdity of such a proposition, further than to remind the public, that seven or eight millions are annually raised, in this Christian land, for the relief of the poor, besides the enormous and uncalculated sums which are collected from private charity for similar purposes—and that, all this while, the *whole* annual revenue of the Church is very little above two millions, which amount is distributed (whether judiciously or equitably distributed is not now the question) among ten or twelve thousand ministers of religion? It might, *perhaps*, be plausible enough to talk of consecrating to charitable uses a third or a fourth part of the proceeds of ecclesiastical property, when half the manors in the kingdom were in the hands of the Church, and *all* the tithes in the hands of the bishops, the parochial clergy, or of religious houses: but to clamour for such a measure, at this day, is worse than the iniquity of the Egyptian taskmasters. It is to exact the tale of bricks, not only without straw, but without the supply of brick-earth, which is needful for the purpose. That deeds of benevolence are signally becoming the sacred profession, and admirably fitted to strengthen their moral influence, is undoubtedly true; and it is very safe to affirm, that no class of men in the empire are more ready to *devise* and to execute *liberal things*, in behalf of the indigent and the afflicted, than the clergy of the established Church. But it is equally true that any attempt to enforce the distribution contended for, in the present condition of Church property, would be altogether nugatory and abortive. If the richer benefices alone were subject to such a division, so comparatively small is their number, that the aid it would afford to the general funds of charity would scarcely be perceptible. Were all the bishops and dignitaries, and more affluent incumbents in the realm, to dedicate one full third of their revenues to the poor, the benefaction would make no material impression on the general mass of

poverty and distress. Even if such distribution were universally applied to all ecclesiastical property without exception, the result would be too trifling to afford substantial relief to the public, while it would drive to the very brink of pauperism a large proportion of the parochial incumbents.*

* While we were writing the above, the old story of the fourfold division was urgently contended for in parliamentary debate; and a confident appeal was made to the authority of Blackstone in support of this popular notion. This appeal drew forth the following candid and intelligent letter to the editor of a decidedly ministerial print—(Globe, Feb. 17, 1832.)

“The origin and primitive distribution of tithes are matters rather of historical curiosity than of practical importance. No one can deny, that, as the law stands at present, the parson is entitled to the whole of the tithes extracted from his parish, with no other pecuniary burden in return than that of upholding the chancel of his church. But as erroneous opinions have been recently promulgated in some quarters, and a system of mystification not unsuccessfully pursued in others, I shall trouble you with some observations on the subject.

“An ingenious and eloquent member of the House of Commons has lately contended, on the authority of Blackstone, that tithes in England were originally divided into four parts. If that gentleman will look into the ancient authorities, he will find, if I am not mistaken, that eminent lawyer (who was no great antiquarian) in an error on that point. It is doubtful whether the fourfold division which was recommended by Pope Gregory to Austin and his followers ever obtained in England; and, if it did, it related not to tithes, which were then unknown, but to the general revenue of the clergy, from whatever source it might be derived.

“The voluntary payment of tithes is repeatedly mentioned in the eighth and ninth centuries as a pious duty, and strongly recommended to the laity by the clergy assembled in synod; and to give greater efficacy to these exhortations, the bishops, by a solemn act, bound themselves and their successors for ever to bequeath one-tenth of their worldly substance to the poor. But it is not till the tenth century that we find any legislative enactments for the compulsory payment of tithes, and nearly about the same time we have indications of the threefold division of tithes, which we are afterwards told was the ancient law of the realm. According to this distribution, one-third of the tithe in every parish was set apart for the repairing of the church, one-third was distributed to the poor, and one-third given to the officiating clergyman for his trouble; and to his honesty and fidelity the administration of the whole seems to have been committed. In what manner this trust was administered in ancient times, we have no precise or certain information; but that the right of the poor to their portion of the tithe was not considered obsolete in the beginning of the 15th century, the statutes of the 15th of Richard II. and of the 4th of Henry IV. clearly demonstrate.

“In the dark ages it was a privilege enjoyed by the patron of a living to divert the tithes from the parish to which they belonged, and appropriate or annex them to some monastery, or other spiritual body, which became thereby bound to provide a vicar, or other person, to do duty in the parish church. This abuse continued without check or limitation till the Council of Lateran in 1215, when it was prohibited by an epistle decretal of Pope Innocent III., after which it gradually disappeared throughout Christendom. The decree of the Pope, says Lord Coke, ‘bound not the subjects of this realm; but the same being just and reasonable, they allowed the same, and so it became *lex terræ*.’ But, though the law of the land, individuals obtained licenses from Chancery to be dispensed from it, and were thus enabled, by appropriating to some distant corporation the tithes of a parish, to defraud the poor of their due. To remedy this evil, acts were passed in the time of Richard II. and Henry IV. which deserve attention, as the latest recognitions by the legislature of the legal right of the poor to a share in the tithes of a parish of which they are inhabitants. The acts of the 15th Rich. II. c. 6, is in the following words:—‘Item, because divers damages and hindrances oftentimes have happened, and daily do happen, to the parishioners of divers places, by the appropriation of benefices of the same places, it is agreed and assented,

Every one, indeed, who has but a tolerable acquaintance with the subject, is aware of the artifices by which the demand for this useless sacrifice is constantly maintained and invigorated. The same incorrigible mendacity, which, from time to time, publishes a *Black List*, is incessantly at work to abuse the public ear with monstrous estimates of ecclesiastical wealth. Here—it exclaims—is a body of religious men, enjoying *nine or ten millions* annually of the *public money*—and yet they impudently refuse to comply with the conditions under which these enormous funds were originally assigned to their body! It is in vain that these intolerable mistatements are repelled by loud contradiction. It is in vain that “*awkward facts*” are published, exhibiting upon a single sheet the whole scheme of our endowments, and demonstrating, from official documents and returns, that the annual proceeds of those endowments does not greatly exceed two millions. All this is done in vain—for all this, truly, amounts to nothing more than a disguise thrown over the truth by the

that in every license, henceforth to be made in the Chancery, of the appropriation of any parish church, it shall be expressly contained and comprised, that the diocesan of the place, upon the appropriation of such churches, shall ordain, according to the value of such churches, a convenient sum of money, to be paid and distributed yearly, of the fruits and profits of the same churches, by those who shall have the said churches in proper use, to the poor parishioners of the said churches, and in aid of their living and sustenance for ever; and also that the Vicar be well and sufficiently endowed.’

“The act of the 4th Hen. IV. c. 12, confirms the above statute in all its parts, and directs that it ‘be firmly holden and kept and put in due execution,’ all appropriations inconsistent with it being null and void.

“It is clear from these statutes, passed within little more than a hundred years of the Reformation, that, when they were enacted, the rights of the poor and of the holder of the benefice to their respective portions of the tithe, were considered equally valid; and, from the limitation of these acts to appropriated livings, it may be presumed, that clergymen, who were resident, had till that time been found just and fair administrators for the poor. How and at what time the tithes came afterwards to be considered the sole and exclusive property of the rector, with no burden annexed to them, of either supporting the church, or maintaining the poor, I am unable to explain. *Valid reasons, I have no doubt, are to be given for this innovation*, though I happen not to be acquainted with them. The statutes above recited, though unrepealed, have long become obsolete and without effect. Poor-rates and church-rates, unknown to our forefathers, have superseded and supplied the place of the ancient law under which tithes were originally imposed.”

A LAYMAN.

We have introduced this letter because—(though to a certain extent it appears to favour the views of those who contend for the original distribution)—it admits that this distribution had fallen into utter desuetude a full century before the Reformation. And even if, at that time, there had been a remnant of life in it, the system of plunder which accompanied that revolution, must have been well nigh sufficient to extinguish it altogether. Besides, it must be observed that the alleged recognition of the ancient practice by the statute of Richard II. is extremely indefinite and loose. *A convenient sum of money* is all that it reserves for the poor parishioners. It is evident that the act was designed to remedy the mischief of appropriations, which substituted an ill-paid vicar, for a rectorial incumbent in full possession of the means of exercising hospitality and benevolence.

cupidity and the cunning of interested men ! In the midst of this outcry, no person of common intelligence has any doubt of one thing—namely, that there is nothing under heaven, which these wholesale dealers in calumny and falsehood dread so sorely, as an authentic exposition of the annual income of the English Church. Not one of them has ever called upon the Church to repel these slanders by a public and official statement of her resources. Not one of their advocates in parliament has asked for returns which should set the question at rest. The power of assailing the clerical body with outrageous miscalculations of their opulence, is an implement far too valuable to be demolished or thrown away—an implement which will continue to be used with shameless audacity, and with pernicious effect, until it shall forcibly be wrested from their hand. What, then, remains for the Church, or the friends of the Church, but to disarm the adversary of this formidable weapon ? And how is he to be disarmed, but by the most open demand for inquiry ? For ourselves, *as individuals*, we can honestly protest, that, session after session, we have been looking, with sickening expectation, for such an appeal to parliamentary investigation. We cannot conceive it possible that any ministry—be they Whig or be they Tory—could think of withstanding, for a moment, so righteous a demand. And if any backwardness to comply should chance to manifest itself, we confess ourselves unable to discern why the prelates of our Church should not, themselves, rise in their places, and, both in their own name, and that of the body which they govern and represent, call upon the government to institute such inquiry, and to publish its results. An appeal, like this, we apprehend, would be absolutely irresistible. And if it should be suggested that there might be inconvenience in a precedent, which invites an inquisitorial examination into the possessions of any class of men,—the answer would be obvious. There might, perhaps, be evil in such a precedent. But the evil surely would be as nothing, in comparison with the daily and hourly mischief, which must accumulate from a passive endurance of deliberate falsehood. We repeat, therefore, that few things would more effectually strengthen our hands or our hearts, than an official and authentic statement of the amount of the revenues of the Church. A record like this would silence all perversion for ever.

We are distinctly conscious that there is little of novelty in certain of the observations which we have, in this paper, submitted to the public. But there are truths, and principles, and facts, which, being always needful, “do not grow stale by repetition.” The adversaries of the Church are never weary of reiterating their perversions and absurdities ; its champions must, therefore, never

be weary of reiterating their contradiction. They must never, by their silence, raise a suspicion that they begin to distrust the strength of their positions. Unopposed falsehood soon assumes the aspect and the authority of undoubted truth. In spite of its tediousness and monotony, the seemingly interminable conflict must, consequently, be maintained, as long as the powers of impudence shall be sufficient to keep their forces in the field. There must be no symptom of languor or unsteadiness; no indication of a readiness to retreat or to sacrifice an inch of ground. The columns of our battle should always appear solid and immoveable as a wall of granite.

In protesting, however, against all appearance of giving way, we are by no means to be understood as setting our faces like a flint against all judicious or reasonable measures of improvement. On the contrary, the sacred strength of our cause can by nothing be rendered so unassailable, as by the constant developement of that restorative energy, the elements of which are abundantly dispersed throughout our system. Of the existence of this healthful virtue we have, at this moment, one illustrious instance before us. It is well known that the attention of Archbishop Cranmer was anxiously directed to the manifold abuses of prebendal preferments. That these preferments are capable of a most beneficial application has never been denied. Independently of the sacred charge of each incumbent in his own cathedral, these benefices without cure "were just and necessary encouragements, "either for such as by age, or other defects, were not fit for a "parochial charge, and yet might be, otherwise, capable to do "eminent service in the Church; or, for the support of such "as, in their parochial labours, did deserve so well as to merit "preferment, and yet, perhaps, were so meanly provided for as "to need some further help for their subsistence. But, certainly, "they never were intended for the enriching of such lazy and "sensual men, who, having given themselves up to a secular "course of life, had little of the churchman but the habit and "the name: and yet used to rail against sacrilege in others, not "considering how guilty themselves were of the same crime, enriching their families with the spoils of the Church, or with the "goods of it, which were put into their hands for better uses. "And it was no wonder that, when clergymen had thus abused "these endowments, secular men broke into upon them; ob- "serving that the clergy who enjoyed them made no better use "of them than laics might do."* Now with a view to the remedy of these abuses, it was the design of Cranmer that there

* Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 301, and vol. ii. p. 8, 9. Ed. 1679.

should be readers in theology, Greek, and Hebrew, attached to every cathedral in the kingdom; so that each cathedral establishment should be a sort of university in miniature. This noble design was unhappily defeated; but the seeds of it were not scattered wholly in vain. They have suddenly sprung up at the princely establishment of Durham. Under the auspices of the munificent and venerable prelate of that see, an institution is about to be raised there, in strict conformity with the design of Cranmer, the sight of which would gladden his heart, if he could be present to witness it. The purposes of the Bishop have been gloriously seconded by the generosity and public spirit of the Chapter; and, before a twelvemonth has elapsed, we hope to see that city become the seat of a collegiate seminary, which, for ages to come, shall diffuse the light of sound divinity and liberal erudition throughout the surrounding provinces. It would be basely unjust to delay, for a moment, the expression of public gratitude for this manifestation of piety and zeal. And it would, further, be grossly libellous, to doubt, that this example will operate as an irresistible appeal to other opulent Chapters, and animate them to a similar application of their superfluous resources, wherever such application can be made with clear advantage to the cause of literature and religion. Whatever suspicions may be attached to other schemes of innovation, improvements and reforms like these, must universally be welcomed as salutary and unexceptionable. They savour of no wild, extravagant, and visionary spirit. They invite not the harpies of confiscation and sacrilege to rend and to contaminate what the piety of former ages has made for ever sacred. Should this project succeed—and its failure seems scarcely possible—and should it provoke a generous emulation in other quarters—which it would be calumnious to question—it will place the administration of Bishop Van Mildert among the most splendidly memorable in the annals of British episcopacy.

It was not till the above pages were written that the very valuable pamphlet of Mr. Hale fell into our hands. We are happy to find that the laborious and accurate researches of that gentleman substantially confirm the more general exposition given by us relative to that division of tithes which is contended for by the adversaries of the Church, and, more especially, maintained, with such exemplary ingenuousness and masterly knowledge of the subject, by the accomplished Editors of "*The Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge*,"—a publication, be it remembered, which delays till its last leaf the information that it is the work of a "*Society of Evangelical Dissenters*," and which may, therefore,

leave the unwary Churchman, whose eye may not have wandered to the end, under the impression that he has been receiving instruction respecting *Clerical* endowments, from a regular *Clerical* Association, decorated as the conductors of it are with the titles of "Doctors of Divinity, Doctors of Laws, or Masters and Bachelors of Arts." The Essay of Mr. Hale should, undoubtedly, be on the table of every Clergyman in the realm; we might add, of every Dissenter in the realm, whose mind is not hermetically sealed up against the power of facts and the influence of reason. In the meantime, we may, to a certain extent, be seconding the object of Mr. Hale, by laying before our readers a very brief abstract of what, in our judgment, he has fully succeeded in accomplishing.

In the first place, he has shown that it would be as absurd to attempt imposing upon the Church of England, the local and contradictory regulations of certain ancient and obscure Provincial Councils on the Continent, as it would be—(to use the language of Selden *)—"to prove the practice of a custom, from some consonant law of Plato's Commonwealth, of Lucian's Man in the Moon, or of Aristophanes's City of Cuckoos in the Clouds."

In the second place, he has established that the celebrated rescript of Pope Gregory to Augustine—(which is the subject of a sonorous encomium from Dr. Lingard)—instead of enjoining upon him the division in question, grants him an express exemption from any such obligation, and leaves him entirely to his own discretion, and the rules of the Benedictine order. Besides, to the tithes of parochial incumbents that letter can have no earthly application; and this for the best of all possible reasons, namely, that no such tithes were at that time in existence. Whatever may be the construction put on the language of the letter itself, it can have reference only to a period when the Bishop was a member of the Monastic order, and the whole clergy of the diocese were living with him, as a sort of collegiate society, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church.

In the third place, with regard to the assertion, that the tripartite division was a law of the Anglo-Saxon Church, it has been shown by Mr. Hale, that the whole force of the argument in support of that assertion, amounts to this—that there are certain Anglo-Saxon documents in which a tripartite division is mentioned; that of these documents two are probably nothing more than compilations from the canons of certain foreign Churches, and consequently of no authority whatever in the Anglo-Saxon Church; and that the third of these documents is merely an address which a certain individual advised a Bishop to deliver to his clergy, in which address this division is spoken of as a canon of

* Preface to Hist. of Tithes.

the fathers; there being, all this while, no proof whatever that the practice was decreed in any English council, or that it ever formed a part of the civil or ecclesiastical law of England.

But then comes the formidable authority of Judge Blackstone, who has incidentally remarked, that, at the first establishment of parochial clergy, the tithes of the parish were distributed in a fourfold division; and subsequently, when the episcopal sees became otherwise endowed, in a threefold division. And he adds, that the monasteries abused this ancient rule to their own purposes, by appropriating the tithes, and making a miserable allowance to the vicar for the performance of the parochial services. And, hereupon, the Society for promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge calls upon the *attentive* reader to observe, that instead of a tenth of the produce, a fortieth was only intended for the incumbent; remarking, with profound arithmetical sagacity, that "when a tenth part is divided by four, each part becomes but a fortieth of the original whole"!!! It is comfortable to find that their logic is not quite so formidable as their arithmetic. For thus stands their argument. In ancient times the Monks often took all the tithes into their own hands, under the implied obligation of adhering to that distribution of them which, when Christianity was first planted, was common to all Ecclesiastical revenue *collectively*; but, in fact, appropriating the whole to their own use, with the exception of a mere pittance for the *vicarial* incumbent: *therefore*, in modern times, the *rectorial* incumbent, the possessor of tithes which were never *appropriated* to any corporation, is, *by the law of England*, entitled to no more than a fortieth part of the produce!

That Blackstone himself would have been astonished at this logical legerdemain, we may collect from his own definition of the quality of a *rector*, or parson, whom he describes as one that hath full possession of all the rights of a parochial Church, and, among them, "the *freehold*, in himself, of the parsonage-house, the glebe, the *TITHES*, and other dues." No less than the astonishment of Blackstone would have been that of Selden, Blackstone's great authority on all points relating to the origin and history of tithes. From that mighty antiquarian the Society might learn a great deal which they would find extremely inconvenient for their hypothesis. He would inform them, for instance, that *parochial priests* (as they were called even before the establishment of *parishes*, in the more modern sense of that word) had *originally* no particular interest whatever in the profits received, whether arising from tithes, or any other source. Their ministrations were of a missionary character, to be exercised in certain districts then called *parishes*, according to the appointment of the Bishop; and

they received their maintenance out of the general receipts of the diocese, which then formed a common treasury. But this, says Selden, was the case "*only in primitive times.*" It was gradually discontinued when the parochial functions were no longer annexed to collegiate foundations or endowments. The tithes were then consigned over to the local incumbents, to be used and distributed according to their own discretion, though subject always to the moral obligation of a charitable attention to the distresses of the helpless and the indigent.*

Having disposed of this perversion of Blackstone's testimony, (a perversion which has of late been most discredibly echoed in the House of Commons,) Mr. Hale proceeds to the examination of certain imperfect statements and erroneous inferences made by Dr. Kennett, through which our limits forbid us to accompany him. And, in the last place, he shows that, among the multitude of canons and constitutions still extant for inculcating the payment of tithes, not a single allusion is to be found to any obligation laid upon the clergy to reserve only a third for their own use, and to apply the remaining two thirds to the maintenance of the Church and the relief of the poor;† while, on the other hand, canons and constitutions are not wanting, which prescribe to the clergy the Christian duties of hospitality and charity, with an urgency, that negatives the existence of any law appropriating to the poor a precise share of that fund. Mr. Hale concludes his essay with the following summary:—

"Since, therefore, the same silence upon the subject of tripartite division, which is observed in the laws and canons of England, prevails generally in all the charters of monasteries, and in every case of endowment which can be produced: and since no instance can be alleged of any stipulation on the part of any grantor of tithes, that the tripartite division should be followed, nor any proof produced either of any monastery endowed with tithes, or any rector so endowed, dividing his revenues in conformity with such a division; and since, lastly, the common law of England, being in its oldest principle of Anglo-Saxon origin, gives to every rector a right to tithes free from all burdens, except that of the repair of the chancel and manse; and since the doctrines laid down by our English canons respecting the duties of the clergy, in assisting the poor and repairing the church, are quite inconsistent with the existence of a legal fourfold division of revenues, it follows that the only conclusion to which we can justly come in this controversy, is, that whatever proofs may be alleged in support of the prevalence of such a division in foreign countries, the supposition that it prevailed in England is perfectly gratuitous, is supported by no one fact, and is ut-

* Selden, c. vi. § iii. p. 80, quoted at length by Mr. Hale, p. 34, note (1).

† The following references will enable the reader to consult these documents:—*Wilk. Conc.* vol. i. pp. 228, 245, 293, 295, 302, 311, 365, 382, 578, 596, 638.

terly irreconcilable with the mass of information which we possess respecting the origin and working of the law of tithes in England."—pp. 44, 45.

We do hope and trust, that the above outline of the result of Mr. Hale's inquiries will be sufficient to induce all persons who may be honestly desirous of correct information on this subject, to consult his pamphlet for themselves. It can scarcely be needful for us to protest, that our object, in calling their attention to it, is not to defeat or to reduce the claims of suffering humanity upon the compassion of our spiritual guides. The clergy, we are profoundly convinced, would indignantly reject the services of any advocate, who should be suspected of a motive so injurious to their honour, and so unworthy of their benevolence. But it is, obviously, of measureless importance, to expose the effrontery which is incessantly charging them with an unprincipled, fraudulent, and inhuman appropriation of resources, dedicated *by the law of the land* to the purposes of charity.

We cannot forbear to make a further use of the work of Mr. Hale. He has printed in his Appendix a most interesting extract from a sermon preached by an American divine, most powerfully auxiliary to those representations of Dr. Dwight, to which we have already solicited the notice of our readers. The passage in question must, we should apprehend, help to dissipate for ever that wretched delusion, which is still directing the gaze of religious *Liberality* to the Transatlantic regions, in search of an example of the manifold blessings to be derived by ourselves from the abolition of all national religious establishments. And as we hold it to be of infinite consequence to tread out all the sparks of this insane prejudice, we here give the passage entire.

“*Extract from a Sermon before the Auxiliary Education Society of the Young Men of Boston, by Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, 1822.*

“After making a fearful statement of the infinite disproportion between the population of the United States, and the number of their religious teachers, the preacher proceeds: ‘But gloomy as this picture is, the statements to which I refer do not exhibit the subject in its darkest aspect. They have overlooked, or at least not delineated, a very important feature. I have already adverted to the names of Old and New America, as somewhat analogous to those of Old and New England, at the first settlement of this country. But since that period, the face of society is greatly altered, and in no respect so much altered as with regard to religion.

“‘The religion of England was an establishment supported by the government. Our ancestors being opposed to the form of that establishment, came to New England to erect an establishment of their own. It was a minority withdrawing from the majority, to set up a govern-

ment more agreeable to their own wishes. They consequently formed their religious polity at the same time in which they formed their civil. When they migrated, it was as a Church, with their pastors at their head. If then the whole of these United States had been peopled from the same source, an established religion would, in all probability, have been still retained; in which case, either provision would have been made from time to time, for the settlement of any new States, as formerly in New England for the settlement of new towns; or, if there had been any dissension, the discontented would have retired, as a religious body, carying with them their own institutions, and forming, elsewhere, a new establishment, according to their own model. But the other parts of America were peopled by adventurers, of different nations and opposite sentiments. Some, indeed, as Lord Baltimore, and William Penn, with their followers, came out on account of their religion; but most of the settlers came from widely different motives, impelled by discontent at home, or allured by the thirst of gain. At the very commencement, therefore, of the political existence of the colonies, they were made up of the most discordant materials, as it regarded religion. And when our independence was achieved, and our union formed, it became necessary, as a measure of sound policy, for the constitution of our national government only to tolerate, and not to support, Christianity. It became necessary, in order to blend together the heterogeneous mass, to prevent the collisions of religious parties from having any sway over the public councils, by excluding religion itself. It became necessary to banish that subject, which of all others ought to be most interesting to men in every station of life, because the corruptions of the human heart, and the errors of the human understanding, here rent asunder the body of Christ.

“This single measure has altered the whole aspect of affairs, the constitution of the general government immediately became a model for the constitution of the several states. Thus a force was created which sapped the foundations of all establishments; and though the religious institutions of Massachusetts and Connecticut have been seated deep in the habits and affections of the people, yet the constantly accumulating power of this formidable lever has at length heaved them from their base. It is now left to men, as individuals, to associate for the purpose of supporting public worship, as they would associate for the promotion of any object merely of private and worldly interest. In our cities, and other large and populous places, this may be done. Enough may be found already united in sentiment to unite in the formation of a Christian congregation. But when you look beyond them, and contemplate the small villages and hamlets, the population of which is thinly scattered over an area of many miles, you behold the same divisions rending society in shreds and patches, various in texture, and form, and colouring. The few of each religious denomination cannot agree to worship together, and are unable, from the smallness of their number, to support separate places of worship. The consequence is, they are left destitute of the means of religion. The sanctity of the Lord's day is either violated by an attention to worldly concerns, or is observed in a manner

worse than the violation, by being made the occasion of idleness and vice. In this part of our country religion was supported by law, until it became the habit of the community, and therefore it still continues to act with the force of an establishment, as a wheel continues to turn after the force applied to it is stopped. Yet even here we are beginning to feel the evils arising from division, and to feel them severely. Your parishes are crumbling into ruins. Party is arrayed against party. To settle a minister becomes impracticable, or, if two or more are settled, the scanty pittance given for their support obliges them to escape from the horrors of poverty by removal. If it be so here, what must it be in our newly settled territories, where religion has no nursing fathers, or nursing mothers. One clergyman, it is said, is necessary for every thousand souls. Be it so, but when it is remembered that this thousand may be composed of five or six different denominations, it will be seen at once how the divisions of the Christian community, by increasing its wants, increase the difficulty of supplying them. Can it be a matter of surprise, that in the midst of all that life and energy which are exhibited in our new settlements, the goodly plant of Christianity should have taken no root, and is withering and dying for want of nourishment. The sound of the axe may ring through the forest—the plough may pierce the soil which has been before undisturbed for centuries, excepting by the hunter's tread—the streams may be pent up in their narrow bed, and powers not their own given them to turn the mill-wheel, and afford nourishment and protection to man—villages, and towns, and cities, may spring up and flourish—but while the smoke is seen to curl from many a domestic hearth, where, alas! are the altars? where is the village spire, pointing to heaven, and telling to the distant traveller that he is approaching the abode of Christian as well as of civilized man? My brethren, the divisions, the hapless divisions, of this little community, weaken their strength, and deprive them of all the means of grace. Their children remain unbaptized and uninstructed. The incense of prayer never ascends from the altar of their hearts. The walls of the sanctuary never reverberate with their praises. The memorial of their Redeemer's love never touches their lips. The oblation of charity is never offered by their hand. In the first generation religion wears itself away by a gradual decline,—in the second it can hardly be said to have existed. As our population increases, therefore, the prospect is shrouded by a more portentous gloom, and there is great danger, that with all the exertions which the pious and benevolent can make, we shall become a nation of heathens and not of Christians.”—pp. 46—48.

And this is the state of things which draws from the Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge the rapturous exclamation, that “Christendom can present nothing more *refreshing* to a pious mind than the Church of Christ in the United States”!—*refreshing*, as Mr. Hale very justly remarks, “to the feelings of none but those, who think that the Church of Christ in ruin, desolation, and division, is a more delightful spectacle, than when she flourishes under the protection of an establishment.”

We conclude our notice of Mr. Hale's very interesting and useful publication, by informing the reader, that another article of his appendix contains some very curious and important particulars relative to the rapid progress of Popery in the United States.

ART. IV.—*The Library of Entertaining Knowledge. Paris and its Historical Scenes.* London: Knight, 1831.

SUPPOSE, Gentle Reader, (if you will permit us to commence with a hypothesis) suppose that your eldest son has now completed his eighth birth-day. He is as fine a boy as any of his age: holds up his head, turns out his toes, parses *amo amas* down to the very future in *dus*, knows a supine and a gerund at first sight, has quite as much Latin as many a child six months older than himself, and a good deal more plain English than his Mother thinks necessary. His only faults,—for faults he undoubtedly has,—are those resulting from impudent health and the first out-breakings of his birth-sin of free-will. Every chair in the dining-parlour by turns has been harnessed as his horse, and it is well if any of them in the end continue to be quadrupeds; the nursery evinces sundry tokens of a spirit rapidly aspiring to emancipation; and Martha openly declares that “Master Tommy *does* so splash the water about in his basin that there *is* no washing him no how!” The remedy is plain; the young and vigorous shoot has outgrown the original flower-pot, and needs room for expansion in a larger bed; Mama's consent is obtained with reluctant willingness; and after Midsummer, Tom must be transplanted to school.

It luckily happens, that, not far from home, the Rev. Solomon Titty having been now enrolled on the Boards of St. John's College during ten years, and having eaten his Commons in its Hall during three terms (being twenty-four years and upwards at the time of his admission), has just written B. D. after his name; and on the strength of those recommending Capitals, has undertaken, in conjunction with Mrs. Titty, the charge of a Preparatory Establishment for Young Gentlemen. The Terms are moderate and there are no extras; the Pupils dine with the Family, have single beds, white dimity curtains, separate towels, and sugar in their milk and water. The utmost attention is paid to their medicine, morals, bowels, clean linen and Religious instruction. In a word, the great aim of the whole system at “Belvidere House” is to combine the tenderness of Parental affection with the wholesome exercise of Magisterial Discipline. One of the chief ad-

vantages proposed is that, besides the dull and antiquated routine of Greek and Latin, in which ourselves and our progenitors have been contentedly trained, the various branches of modern Knowledge also are diligently inculcated. Care is taken that the little Masters in their walks should learn to distinguish a Daisy from a Dandelion, the latter of which they are prohibited from calling by its trivial name; and in the house, they are taught in like manner, that Vinegar is an Acid, and that Soap partakes of Alkali. Mrs. Titty knows something of Shells, Flowers, Cock-roaches and Dragon flies. Mr. Titty is sufficiently versed in Chemistry, Gymnastics, Geology, Entomology and Phrenology; and above all and most to the purpose at which we are now directing ourselves, out of school-hours, free access is allowed to a select Library of Books, especially adapted to the tender years of the students; books in which the principal object has been dexterously to convey instruction under the guise of amusement; so that the simplicity of youth may be swindled into knowledge, and the poor child who thinks that he has been reading merely an entertaining Story, all the while has been unwittingly betrayed into the acquisition of a downright Science;

E dall'inganno suo vita riceve.

It is into this Library that Tom and Papa are ushered on their first arrival at Belvidere House; and there they wait for a few minutes, till Mrs. Titty has adjusted her cap and Mr. Titty has been called in from the bottom of the Garden. Neither of the visitors are much inclined to talk during this painful pause of preparation; and the elder takes up a Book, in order to speed the lingering minutes. It is a *Topographical and Historical Account of the City of Winchester*, two small volumes—pretty wood-cuts—light and pleasant style—brisk, brilliant, rapid, smooth, easy, sparkling and attractive. A little about King Lucius, St. Ethelwold and William of Wykeham; and a good deal about Gothic Architecture. Here may be found explanations of transoms, mullions, tracery, crockets, finials, triforia and clerestories; there of frets, zigzags, nail-heads, billets, corbel-boles and nebules; specimens of the drop, lancet, horseshoe, equilateral, ogee and Tudor arches; and plain characteristics by which a boy of ordinary capacity may soon point out the diagnostics which separate the Saxon Style from the Norman, the Seminorman from the Early English, and the Decorated from the Florid and Perpendicular. Besides this incidental Architectural Lecture, there is a good map of the City, views of its chief buildings, and a useful guide through the principal streets. Nothing can be better suited to its purpose than the first volume;

but what horrifies the Father's eyes in the Second? "An account of Winchester College, with Historical Scenes of the Great Rebellion of the Scholars in the year 17—, when they bolted out of School, *booked* Dr. —, broke all his windows, burned all his wigs, barricaded their Dormitory, procured fire-arms, maintained a siege, and did not capitulate till they had enforced the abdication of their late bloody, birchen, butcherly and mastigophorous Tyrant!"—Humph! nice reading this for Tom! and a pretty manual to teach subordination either at School, or what is of more consequence to Papa—in the holidays! Is it *quite* judicious in the Rev. Solomon Titty to put such *liberal* notions into the heads of his Pupils!

Now that which we have here supposed the Rev. Solomon Titty to do in miniature, the great Schoolmasters of our day have really and absolutely done in large. A Society, professing to Diffuse *Useful* Knowledge, and in many instances acting strictly up to its profession, has thought it within its province, and a part of its duty, to circulate at a cheap price a Work by which the Rabble of any great Capital may convince themselves that Rebellion is a virtue, and may learn also the readiest modes of resisting authority, and overthrowing and cashiering their Government—and this strong drastic is overlayed with as much vehicular currant-jelly as ever sweetened the nastiest powder which Master Tomny has been cajoled to swallow during periods of Indigestion.

All this we shall come to in time, but first to begin at the beginning, and to point out a few mistakes in the harmless division. "Julian," we are told, "describes Paris, which he calls *Lutetia*, (την φιλην Λευτεκιαν) as the *πολιχνιον* or little Capital of the Parisii, and as situated on a small Island rising from the river which surrounded it on every side." (p. 7.) Now Julian does not call the town *Λευτεκιαν*, but *Λευκετία*; as with Ptolemy it is *Λευκοτεκία*; and we know not why *πολιχνιον* (or rather *πολίχνην*, which is the only reading we have ever found in *accented* editions of the *Misopogon*) should be rendered little *Capital*. But Julian says also a great deal more which proves that, in his time, this *Λευκετία* resembled Paris at a much later period; for he describes wooden bridges, *ξύλιναί γέφυραι*, which connected the Island on each side with the main land, and he adds, that the river almost always preserved an equable level, both in summer and winter. In one quality, indeed, Julian's Seine differs materially from its present state, and that on account of very obvious reasons. The Emperor tells us, that no water can be purer to the eye or more alluring to the palate. But to continue—"The town itself Cæsar calls *Lutetia*. In so far as the meaning of this term can be recovered, it seems to sig-

nify the dwelling in the midst of the river." (p. 3). This is very much as if a Biographer, speaking of the childhood of some great man, not distinguished in early youth for personal cleanliness, were to write—"The boy himself his schoolfellows called *nasty-nosed*. In so far as the meaning of this term can be recovered, it seems to signify the feature in the midst of the face." Lutetia speaks plainly for itself; the Island was not so called because it stood in the middle of the river, but because standing in the middle of the river, and not being cleaned, it abounded with (*lutum*) mud; just as the embryo great man's nose would be called nasty, not because it stood in the middle of his face, but because, standing in the middle of his face and being seldom wiped, it abounded with nastiness. We need look only to a French writer of the XIIth century for conviction on this point. Gulielmus Brito, while singing the eulogy of Paris, in his *Philippeis*, thus accounts for its name, in lines, for all the prosody of which we abstain from vouching.

"Cui quamvis verè toto præluceat Orbi
Nullus in Orbe locus, quoniam tunc temporis illam
Reddebat palus et terræ pinguedo lutosam,
Aptum Parisiū posuere Lutetia nomen."—I. 102.

Furthermore, this derivation is confirmed by another authority contemporary with Gulielmus Brito, when describing a transaction not related with precision in the Work before us. The author of *Paris* says,

"An improvement for which Paris was indebted to Philip, was the paving of the streets, which was begun by his command in the year 1185. He was standing one day, it is told, at the window of his Palace in the city, when some carts having driven up to carry away the mire and filth with which the street was covered, he was so much disgusted by the stench and the offensive appearance of every thing around, that he resolved to put an end to such a wretched state of inconvenience and uncleanness, and forthwith gave orders to the Provost to have the principal streets paved at the expense of the Burgesses."—pp. 15, 16.

The Physician Rigord, who calls himself Historiographer Royal to Philippe Auguste,—and who, whether he were really so or not, must be received as good authority, since he wrote in the life-time of that King, and dedicated his Biography to his son Louis VIII.,—does not at all imply that the stench which so much disgusted the Royal nostrils was occasioned by any goodly act of scavengering, which might ultimately have abated the nuisance. On the contrary, it arose from the simple toilsome dragging of waggons through the filth-encumbered streets, *rhedæ equis trahentibus per civitatem transeuntes fætores intolerabiles revolvendo procreave-*

runt (*ap. Rer. Gall. Script. XVII. 16.*) Again, we do not read that Philippe Auguste ordered only the "principal streets" to be paved, nor that it was to be done "at the expense of the Burgesses." He ordered paying for *all* the streets and passages in an assembly of the Burgesses, who might be called together not to pay for the work, but only to superintend it; at least nothing about payment is written down: *convocatis autem Burgensibus cum Præposito ipsius civitatis Regiâ auctoritate præcepit quod omnes vici et viæ totius civitatis Parisii duris et fortibus lapidibus sternerentur*, says Rigord, who then continues in illustration of the etymology—*Lutea enim à Luti factore prius dicta fuerat; sed gentiles quondam hujusmodi nomen propter factorem abhorrentes, à Paride Alexandro, filio Priami Regis Trojæ, Parisius vocaverunt.* (*id. ibid.*) We need not follow this writer farther in his exposition of the fabled descent from the line of Assaracus; a pretension which appears to have been epidemic at one time among all the Capitals in Europe; and which was as much affirmed in our own Troynovant as in the Gallic Paris. Respecting the funds by which this great benefit was to be conferred, whether the expense was defrayed from the Royal Treasury, or by rates which the City Paving Board was authorized to levy, we are unable to decide; but Sainte Foix has recorded the generosity of an individual which must greatly have assisted the work; a Financier, named Gerard de Poissi, contributed 11,000 marks of silver for the purpose. What were the exact duties of a Financier of the XIIth Century it might be difficult to pronounce; but if we may judge from this splendid donation, the breed little resembled that of Farmers-General in France or Chancellors of the Exchequer in England, in after-days.

Even modern Paris, however, has not altogether abandoned its claim to the title *Lutetia*; the following is a just description of some of its defects.

"To a person accustomed to the appearance of the streets of London, or indeed of any other English town, those of the interior of Paris will present considerable novelty of aspect. The extreme narrowness, in the first place, of those in the more ancient parts of the city, and the great height of the houses, with their windows in many cases fortified by bars of iron, would alone give them an air of gloom and precaution, almost sufficient to impress the Englishman who walks through them with the feeling that he has been transported, not only into another country, but into another age. Even where these indications of the more ancient evils of Paris are not visible, the general aspect of the town shows that it has not grown with the growth of a free people, amongst whom the inequalities of rank have been softened down by respect to the comforts of all classes. Under the ancient régime, which was in full activity half a century ago, there were only two classes in Paris, the *noblesse* and the

bourgeoisie; and the latter, being driven into the gutters by the carriage-wheels of their arrogant masters, went by the general name of the *canaille*. Few of the streets even now have any side pavement for foot passengers—that invaluable accommodation which gives such perfect security to the pedestrian even in our most crowded and tumultuous thoroughfares. The causeway itself, on which walkers and drivers are thus mingled together in confusion, is often most uneven and rugged. The stones of which it is formed, about ten inches square, present each a convex surface, usually wet and slippery, so that under the most favourable circumstances walking in the streets of Paris is any thing but an agreeable exercise. Still farther to abridge the level space, the street is made to incline from both sides towards the centre, in order to form there a sort of ditch, in which flows a black and fetid stream. From the want of a proper system of drains, this receptacle of filth is generally sufficiently replenished, even in the driest weather, to keep the whole street wet and dirty. Carriages, having usually one wheel in the midst of the kennel, dash about the offensive puddle in all directions. But the principle of a clear middle way, such as our English streets possess, is neglected in all the arrangements connected with those of Paris.”—pp. 37, 38.

But these nuisances are not wholly without compensation. Why, during eighteen years of Peace, have we not so far profited by our neighbours as to adopt the very simple arrangement described below, which must be productive of so great convenience?

“The system of numbering the houses adopted in the French capital is much more uniform and perfect than our own. Not only are the even numbers always arranged on one side, and the odd on the other, but the direction of the street is pointed out by the figures being painted black or red, according as it runs transversely or parallel to the course of the river. In the former case, too, the series of the numbers always commences at the end of the street nearest to the river; and in the latter always at the east end, or so as to follow the same direction with the river itself. This improvement, which was introduced in 1806, is neatly described in the following Latin verses, given by Dulaure:—

“*Dividit hanc urbem duplici nota picta colore;
Nigra fugit flumen, sequitur rubra fluminis undam,
Partitis numeris; par dextra imparque sinistra
Limina designat; numerus dum crescit eundo,
Idem decrescens reditum indicat ordine verso.*”—p. 40.

In the commencement of his *Sketch of the Revolution of 1789*, the writer of these volumes assumes that there is a natural and immutable antipathy between a King and his People; an axiom well adapted to the period of blood and terror, of sophistry and falsehood, the story of which he is about to narrate; but which it might be thought the History of the English Constitution of itself would be sufficient to overthrow. He next falls into a common

error respecting the changes effected by the first of the Capetian dynasty who manifested any vigour in his administration.

“ Louis le Gros commenced a resolute system of attack upon the power and independence of those very barons who had raised his ancestor to the throne. This able and energetic monarch, in his struggle with his refractory nobles, politically called to his aid a power which had till now been nearly altogether unregarded—that of the People. Erecting the chief towns of his kingdom into privileged communities, he opposed the confederacies of the burghers to those of the aristocracy.”—p. 66.

This account, upon examination, will be found ill supported by History. Louis le Gros indeed was perpetually embroiled with his Feudatories, and he also granted Charters to certain *Communes*; but in what manner is any necessary connection between those two facts to be established? or how can they be proved mutually dependent? To suppose that Louis had concerted a plan of counter-balancing the Aristocratical interests by throwing additional weight into the Popular scale, and of elevating his own power by the opposition to each other of the two remaining orders of the State, is to endow him with a degree of Political skill, which belonged neither to his own personal character, nor to the habits and attainments of his generation. Louis was a brave, frank, open and benevolent Prince, anxious no doubt to free himself from the oppressive trammels with which the Feudal Barons hitherto had encumbered their King, but ignorant of any other mode of emancipation than that which the Sword provided. Governments in the XIIth Century were but rudely constructed, and it required strength rather than dexterity to make the single wheel revolve upon which their movements depended. Little was known of that complicated frame-work by which every separate part, while checking too great rapidity of progress in another, is itself checked in turn, so that each, aptly regulated, contributes to the general harmony of the entire machine. Neither Louis le Gros, nor yet later his grandson Philippe Auguste, partook of the astute qualities which marked Tiberius, Louis XI. or Filippomaria Visconti. The favourite maxim of the latter Princes was to *divide* and rule; the former were unacquainted with any other authority except that attained by *compression*; and they curbed their Vassals, not because they had speculated deeply on Political theories, but because they had been galled practically and severely by the bridle in their own mouths. Exclusively of the absurdity of attributing so much calm and long-sighted Kingcraft to a Monarch whose projects, for the most part, were formed on the saddle and executed by the spear, the *facts*, when investigated, do not bear out the assertion that Louis le Gros was the Instigator of *Communes*. At the time of his accession the Royal

domain occupied but a narrow portion, certainly not a tenth, of modern France; and not more than half a dozen towns of any note were under the direct sway of the King. In these towns, Louis no doubt, for his own interests, secured the Burgesses from the oppression of neighbouring Barons, and so far protected their commerce as to ensure the payment of his own revenues. More than this he did not attempt; nor do we read that he divested himself of power by establishing *Communes* in any places except those in which the Signorage was already divided. The Fiefs of his Vassals were altogether beyond his control; and for the origin of *Communes* in them we must look to the Vassals themselves. The commencement of the XIIth Century was marked by an almost general movement among the hitherto passive inhabitants of large towns; and Louis, when he granted Charters, did not so much set an example, as adopt one; following the same system which the neighbouring Lords of Angers, Poitiers, Normandy, Lorraine, Provence, and Burgundy, had been compelled to embrace by equivocal demonstrations of resistance.*

The IVth Chapter, containing a sketch of the Revolution of 1789, is clearly and honestly written. Mens minds are now finally made up respecting that bloodiest and most insane page in History, and it is not likely that any attempt to unsettle them again would succeed. Indeed, the fosterers of the Revolution of 1830 have made its contrast with that of 1789 one of their strong grounds of defence. More than 180 pages are filled with unextenuated statements of enormities not exceeded in horror even in the following Chapters devoted to the Massacre of St. Bartholemew; and yet how many are still left untold?

The Massacre of St. Bartholemew is introduced by a passage singularly indicative of either designed perversion, or of almost incredible ignorance—

“ Things were in this state when the Queen-mother resolved to strike a bold and decisive blow for the consolidation of her authority. *There is no reason to suppose that Catherine, in her meditated attack upon the Protestants, was actuated by any feelings of religious bigotry or fanaticism. Her whole history and character seem to contradict such an explanation of her conduct.* In her treatment of the two sects up to this time she had evinced all the impartiality of a perfect indifference to the peculiar tenets of either, making use of the one merely to balance the other, and courting the alliance now of the Catholics, now of the Protestants, just as it best suited at the moment the interests of her own authority. But, although she had hitherto succeeded by this sort of management in preserving her position at the head of affairs, the supremacy which she was

* The origin of *Communes* is very luminously traced in detail by M. de Sismondi: *Hist. des Français* V. chap. 13. pp. 120. 131.

so enabled to maintain was far from the full and unfettered dictatorship to which her ambition aspired. Mistress of the State as she was, she had yet been obliged to share too much of her power with those under whose protection, as it were, she held it, and who, by merely withdrawing their aid and support, could, at any moment they chose, leave her in the hands of another faction just as little disposed to allow her the exercise of an unparticipated sovereignty. Tired of this imperfect and precarious sway, Catherine appears to have resolved upon the adoption of a new policy. Instead of longer employing the two hostile parties to balance each other, she now determined to avail herself of the assistance of the one to effect, once for all, the extermination and destruction of the other. This accomplished, she counted upon having very little further trouble with the surviving sect, who would not, in all probability, come out of the service in which they were about to be engaged, without suffering considerably themselves, if not in physical strength, at least in reputation and moral influence; *and who, at all events, would, in the extinction of their adversaries, lose their best support, and the chief arm of strength which had hitherto rendered them formidable.* In carrying this deep and daring scheme into execution, its politic projector, for many obvious reasons, fixed upon the adherents of the new faith, whose numbers were comparatively small, and whose power recent events had already considerably reduced, as the party to be immolated to her ferocious and devouring ambition."

This statement, as will be perceived, is in one part no more than a repetition in other words of Dr. Lingard's sufficiently refuted assertion, that Charles IX. "compelled the marriage (of the King of Navarre) under the expectation that it would give him the superiority, and allow him to punish those whom he considered as obstinate rebels." That which the Romish Historian has here attributed to Charles, the author before us transfers to his mother; and quietly represents the slaughter which incarnadined all France with blood, as no more than what in after times would have been a Cabinet manœuvre to *effect a change in Ministers*. It would seem farther also, from the above account, that Catherine, thoroughly *liberalized* and without the slightest predilection for either Religion, would just as soon have massacred the Papists as the Protestants, if they could have been as easily entrapped. That, forgetful of the received maxim *divide et impera* to which we have before alluded, she believed that she could manage *one* party better than *two*; and indeed that she was not altogether without hope that all France practically, like all Rome in the Tyrant's wish, might have but one neck, and that in the struggle *both* might be very nearly exterminated. It may readily be admitted that Catherine at heart was devoid of Religion; but does it follow that she was therefore without Bigotry? Is the existence of her sincere, rooted and inveterate hatred of one Faith to be dis-

believed because she was no more than a nominal and professed adherent to another? Pius V. judged differently of the Queen-mother's character, and he had full opportunities of becoming acquainted with it. His Letters to Catherine invariably suppose that she is hearty in her determination to extirpate Heresy *quocunque modo*. It would have displayed a want both of prudence and of courtesy in the Pontiff if he had ever expressed any misgivings that his "dearest daughter in Christ" was in heart not a Christian at all: the contrary therefore is always presumed; and the Holy Father's correspondence is not directed to confirm the Queen in her Faith, but to exhort her to cherish that pious resolution and praiseworthy design which he knew her to entertain, of honouring God by exterminating the Huguenots. We do not think enough use has been made of these most remarkable Letters, as affording support to the fact which Dr. Allen has so triumphantly established, of the premeditation of the massacre. To our eyes they contain incontrovertible proofs that the Vatican, in conjunction with the Court of France, had long meditated *some* general deed of blood, which should sweep away all their enemies at a blow; and that the details of the St. Bartholemew were afterwards put together according to a plan, not organized indeed by Pius, for the hand of death arrested him, but perhaps suggested, assuredly sanctioned, by his authority. Let us but turn to a few of his pregnant expressions. He wrote to Catherine first after the Battle of Jarnac, and in consequence of that success he advises her, *eo studiosius ac diligentius Majestas tua operam navare debet, ut non solum hostium reliquias persequatur et conficiat, sed etiam ut omnes tantæ tanque corroboratæ pestis radices penitus tollat atque evellat, nisi enim funditus extirpentur, timendum est ne quemadmodum re ipsâ antehac experti sumus, rursus pullulent. . . . nullo modo, nullisque de causis, hostibus Dei parcendum est. . . . Quod si Majestas tua Catholicæ Religionis hostes apertè ac liberè ad internecionem usque oppugnaverit, &c. deletis omnibus, &c. &c.** A second Letter on the same occasion deprecates mercy to *any* of the prisoners, and represents such misplaced gentleness as likely to be quite as offensive to God as was Saul's forbearance from slaying the Amalekites.† And a third, written ten months afterwards, is a general dissuasive against compromise with the Huguenots, because *sicut compertum nobis est nullam esse Satanae cum filiis lucis communionem, ita inter Catholicos quidem et Hereticos nullam compositionem nisi fictam fallaciisque plenissimam fieri posse pro certo habemus.‡* How strictly, to the very letter, did Ca-

* Lib. iij. Ep. xi.

† Lib. iij. Ep. xii.

‡ Lib. iv. Ep. ij.

therine verify the last axiom of Pius when she lulled the Huguenots into security by inviting them to the nuptial solemnities!

But upon this trite subject we have dwelt perhaps too long, and we will add only a single word upon the paradoxical assumption, that Catherine, by destroying the Protestants, would weaken the Papists; who "would in the extinction of their adversaries lose their best support, and the Chief arm of strength which had hitherto rendered them formidable." "Deep," indeed, must have been the scheme, most politic the project, which could arise from such a principle as this! If the overthrow of an adversary be the surest means of debilitating the conqueror, how heartily ought we to deprecate victory! Chuse which end of the beam you will, while Catherine sits in the middle and directs the see-saw, your perdition is certain; on the one side you sink never again to rise; on the other you ascend only to be dismounted by the very jerk of your elevation.

Putting aside once for all the mistakes or misrepresentations which would persuade us that this butchery originated solely in the political ambition of Catherine, and that it was communicated to the King but a short time before the execution, it is but just to say that these pages afford a more vivid description than we have met elsewhere of the unparalleled perfidy and blood-guiltiness which they undertake to relate. Great dexterity is evinced in the selection of the most striking incidents, in their powerful and effective compression, and in their dramatic arrangement. They have been compiled and adjusted by a hand not meanly versed in that Art, the secret of which is to regulate at will the springs of Pity and of Terror. But against the Epilogue to this Tragedy we must again raise our strenuous protest.

"The whole story is a terrific illustration of what human nature is capable of becoming and of perpetrating under the spur of bigotry and religious hatred, aided by the hardening and depraving influence of barbarous institutions and manners; but we should be giving ourselves up, in some degree, to the very spirit which animated the sanguinary mob, whose excesses we have been recounting, were we to charge the Catholic religion in particular with the crimes committed on this occasion by those who happened to be its votaries. Enormities, such as those we have been contemplating, have no more natural connection with the peculiar dogmas of the Catholic than they have with those of the Protestant form of faith. They flow from such an excess of religious zeal as amounts in fact to a perversion of the spirit of all religion (which is that of love and mercy) into one of the very opposite character. The general opinion of the Catholic world, as we have just found De Thou recording, condemned the Parisian massacre from the first in terms as decided as any employed by the Protestants themselves; and with a very

few exceptions, writers of that persuasion; down to our own day, have continued to show themselves as eager as any other in expressing their detestation of this foulest and bloodiest treachery of ancient or modern times."—vol. i. p. 267.

"Enormities such as those we have been contemplating!!"—Where in the whole range of History is another such enormity to be found? "The general opinion of the (Roman) Catholic World condemned the massacre!!"—Yet we need not name the Cardinal who thanked God in a transport of joy that the King of France had kept his word with him; nor the Pope, who signalized this triumph of his Church by a commemorative medal!

The remaining History of Paris is agreeably written: attention is awakened by a judicious choice of prominent events, and kept alive by vigorous and rapid narration. If the same course had been pursued in the second volume, when we arrive at the Revolution of 1830, perhaps we might be able to dismiss it with similar criticism. But here, unfortunately, the spirit of the partizan has broken loose unrestrained; and the author, relying upon mere frequency of discharge, has contented himself with smoke, noise and fire, and been wholly regardless of correct aim. Every anecdote contained in every lying broad-sheet and *brochure* vended in the streets of Paris while the fever of revolt was at its height, has been indiscriminately amassed; and the result is a vague, misty, confused and contradictory narrative, on which we alternately smile at bad taste and credulity, and are indignant at unsound prejudices and sophistical deductions.

The overture is martial, a *spirituoso* movement with a full accompaniment of kettle-drums and trumpets.

"The last week of July, 1830—deservedly styled *La grande Semaine*—may probably vie, for the magnitude of the movements which formed its rapid drama, with any period of the same brevity in the annals of the modern world. For within this little space we have not only the mighty result of a throne overturned, and a nation revolutionized, but the beginning of that Revolution, as well as its consummation—not merely the crash of the downfall following the last of many successive shocks, (an incident sufficient of itself to make a memorable epoch,) but the whole process of the assault as well as the catastrophe of the overthrow. The first morning of this week found that royalty with its splendour unshorn, which it was to behold, ere its close, trampled under the feet of the multitude; and that land undisturbed by any stir or sound of disobedience, which in a few hours was to ring with the tumult of a fierce and fast-spreading rebellion, and, in a few more, with the shouts of the triumphant insurgents. It was truly, as we have just called it, a drama—in the unity of time itself, as well as in those of place and action, perfect almost to the Aristotelian rule. The charter of the national liberties

torn in pieces by the monarch—the gathering of the popular wrath—its bursting forth in tempest—the disappearance of the throne, and him who sat upon it, and the armed legions that guarded it, before that desolating blast—and, finally, the return of peace and order, amid the rejoicings of the people over their great and righteous victory;—here is a procession of magnificent events, such as has scarcely been crowded into the same brief space, even in the busiest fiction of the stage. Real history certainly affords scarcely such another example of the impetuous rush of political changes.”—vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

We will not stop to inquire too closely how “unshorn splendour” looks when “trampled under feet.” But we will proceed at once *in medias res*, escape the politics, and arrive as soon as we can at the downright fighting. This fighting, we are told, was the natural consequence of a Restoration—a peculiarly morbid state, in which “the haunting memory of what once was, is continually holding up the picture of what may again be”—a state which it may be believed will be found under most circumstances, even without the aid of a Restoration, while Man continues to exist and Memory to retain her powers.

In the year 1827, Death had made so “efficient a removal of the adherents to the old *regime*,” that the majority of electors in France were “young men attached to principles of improvement.” “The inherent vigour of the national desire for liberal institutions” had gathered strength, and “all that was most popular and influential in the productions of the Press, both indicated and impelled (for such is the double force of Literature) this direction of the public mind.” Blank columns in the newspapers spoke the mournings of Freedom in dumb eloquence; scourging Satires flogged (as an American would write) the abuses of Tyranny; and Songs “carried the aspirations of Patriotism on the wings of Poetry and Music over all ranks of the community.” Notwithstanding these signs of the times, strange to say, Charles X. retained a wish to preserve his Crown; “the King and his Ministers were not likely to retire quietly, *as it became them to do*, before the tide of national sentiment;” but they actually entertained the “insane project” of either diverting or arresting it.

It is by no means our intention to undertake the endless, hopeless, and therefore most unsatisfactory task of mootng the Political question of this Revolution. Whatever our own opinions may be, it is not required that they should be produced on this occasion; our business is solely with those of the writer whom we are reviewing: and so far as they can be collected from the above paragraphs, they appear to be, that a restless spirit of change was abroad, that its exacerbations were stimulated and encouraged by

the Press, and that it was the duty of Government to make unlimited concessions. Determined upon an opposite course, the King and his Ministers resisted. On the 26th of July the celebrated Ordinances were issued, and before evening the streets of Paris were filled with throngs ripe for tumult. A few lamps and windows were broken, but a small body of police and forty gend'armes were sufficient to clear the Garden of the Palais Royal of the rabble, who were greedily inhaling inflammatory gas from mob-orators, and shouting *Vive la Charte* and *à bas les Ministres*.

Next morning the principal shops were closed; the populace of the notorious Fauxbourg Sainte Antoine were seen gathering, and they united in themselves not a few contradictions; they were "well enough dressed," although most of them were without coats, and, in that respect, "forty years" had certainly "rendered them a new generation," for in 1789 their deficiency was in *culottes*; "their air was resolute and menacing," but at the same time they were "all of prepossessing appearance," and "showed no disposition to disorder;" and, lastly, although "they had neither Chiefs nor incendiaries," they were evidently "waiting in expectation of an event of which they certainly were not the instigators." Without attempting to reconcile these discrepancies, it may be enough to observe, that, in less than an hour, these well-dressed, coatless, menacing, prepossessing and orderly rioters, although neither self-instigated nor excited by others, called for arms and leaders, broke open all the gunsmiths' shops, and rushed upon the Place Royal and the Place de la Bastille, "armed with muskets, rusty sabres, pistols, swords, spits, pikes and pitchforks," and crying, "Down with Polignac! Liberty for ever!"

The first attack made upon the military was with paving-stones; and when we call to mind that there are few skulls impenetrable by a solid cube of granite, measuring not less than twelve inches in each direction, it seems almost superogatory to ask by which side the first musket was fired. As is usual, however, in all cases of popular commotion, the troops, who did not like to be pounded to death without resistance, are accused of "outrage" when they obeyed the laws of self-preservation. On all hands it is admitted that their earliest volleys were fired in the air; nevertheless these innocent squibbings rendered one Patriot, M. de Mauroy, so "indignant at the scene," that he put himself at the head of a party of working printers, who kept their ground firmly in the face of a detachment of lancers, twice assailing them with volleys of stones; and their leader appears to have been a good deal surprised and disconcerted that one of the soldiers in consequence fired at him with a pistol. Meantime a woman had been killed, but no one could trace with any certainty whether by a shot from

or by a stone thrown at the troops. Her death, however, was turned to great advantage by the insurgents, and the corpse was borne about by a journeyman Baker, whom in ordinary style we should describe as a strong fellow, with ready powers of extemporary speaking; but History assigns him loftier qualities, both physical and intellectual. "This man, whose athletic form, cast in Nature's manliest mould, gave effect to every word and gesture, carried the body to the foot of the statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires, where he addressed the surrounding crowds in a strain of rude but overpowering eloquence." "The scene," it is added, notwithstanding there was an even chance that the woman fell by the hand of a rioter, "impressed the people with additional hatred to the Government under whose sanction such deeds were perpetrated."

Barricades were now being formed in the streets, principally in the Rue St. Honoré; the basis of one at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle consisted of two Omnibusses overturned and placed across. It was captured and ridden through by a squadron of lancers who attacked it in rear; but who had no sooner passed than they were assailed with stones and brickbats both from the streets and houses. The soldiers naturally fired at the windows, and three individuals were killed. The undiscerning bullets made no distinction of persons, and the Historian, reversing the consolation felt by the two-pair-of-stairs Irishman when his *Hotel* was on fire, complains that the sufferers "were merely lodgers." How far the soldiers were justified in self defence may be determined from the following admission.

"According to the evidence of some of the witnesses on the trial, no shots at all had been fired from this house, but *only* some stones thrown from it, when the soldiers discharged their guns in great numbers at the windows. When M. de Puybusque forced his way into it, some time afterwards, with a part of his detachment, he was informed that previous to the arrival of the soldiers, it had been amply provided with stones and brickbats from a cart which had been brought to the door, and which had then proceeded onwards to furnish other houses in the street with similar supplies."—vol. ii. p. 88.

Among the instances of "exalted feeling" manifested during the "stirring conflict of this day," we hear of two working men left in guard of a post, who happened to say that they were dry. The Editor of a Newspaper within earshot was kindled even to romantic generosity by the remark.

"He immediately went up to them, and, offering them a five-franc piece, said, 'Go, my friends, and get something to eat; I shall take your place, and will remain here till your return.' The men at first seemed disposed to decline his bounty; but on his pressing it upon them,

with the remark that at such a moment as the present it was only a matter of course that he who had should give to those who had not, they accepted the money. With a fine feeling of what was just and proper, however, having satisfied their necessities, they reappeared in a quarter of an hour."—vol. ii. p. 95.

They reoccupied their post, and gave the Editor his change. During the short interval of their absence his accustomed thriftiness appears to have revived, and he pocketed the fifty-five sous, feeling "that he could not even ask them to retain the money."

One unhappy man, who had been thrown down and wounded, afforded a fortunate "evidence of the sanguinary violence of the Government;" and with little regard for his agonies he was "carried about and exhibited this evening for the purpose of kindling the indignation of the spectators," and

"conveyed, it appears, even before he had expired, to the Place du Châtelet, where a large multitude soon gathered around him. One of the Commissaries of Police having come up with a party of gendarmes, succeeded in gaining possession of the dying man, and sent him in a hackney-coach to the Hôtel Dieu; but he was again seized by the people at the gate of that building."—vol. ii. p. 95, 96.

"The insurgents this day," we are told, "appeared to be *altogether of the very lowest class of the people*;" and that class we are further informed ought always to be the incipients in a Revolution: the season at which their betters are to manifest themselves being somewhat later.

"All this was mainly and almost entirely the doing of the mechanics and labourers of Paris. In so acting they performed the part properly belonging to them at such a crisis as had arrived. So long as the contest between two parties in a state is carried on within the recognised forms of the constitution, it may do for individuals alone to engage in it, while the mass of the population remains inert, or at least (no matter with what interest it looks on) refrains from all active interference. The weapons of the combatants here are only argument, eloquence, and what other instruments are to be drawn from the armoury of persuasion, which may be wielded with effect by few as well as by many hands. But when the strife is one to be decided by the sword, the physical strength of the country must take its place in the front of the battle. In such a case the higher and better educated classes—the natural leaders of the people, as they have been called—can only make their appearance with propriety, or to any useful end, after the people themselves, whom they are to lead, and without whom they can do nothing, have shown that they are in earnest in the business by beginning the attack. Let us not, therefore, affect either to depreciate this Revolution, with some, as a mere revolt of the mob, because the resistance which brought it about was begun by the labouring population; or, with others, to under-rate the public virtue of the higher classes because they were not first in the field in so righteous a cause."—vol. ii. p. 101.

Here again, however, Homer nods: notwithstanding the insurgents hitherto were *altogether* of the very lowest class, there were some among them of a higher order. M. Mauroy to wit, whom we have mentioned above as Brigade Major of the Printers' Devils, was an officer of Engineers and a member of the Legion of Honour; one young man, "elegantly dressed," was carried mortally wounded to the Hôtel Dieu; and certain females of "respectable station" took part in the work of the day. Thus "a" Madam Weber stood fire in the Palais Royal for some time, "with a child in her arms;" the widow of a General "announced that if money were wanting to *effect a Revolution* (which in Paris appears as easy as to buy gingerbread) she was ready to contribute;" and two other Spartan mothers gave their sons leave to go out and mix with the crowd in the streets.

Wednesday morning presented greater appearances of mob-organization.

" 'What Frenchman,' exclaims one of the historians before us, 'could behold, without emotion and without pride, the brave of every rank and age issuing from their houses, either alone or in little groups, one armed with an old sabre, another with a pike, a third, perhaps, bearing aloft a tricoloured flag? They walked side by side, full of confidence; and where they found themselves in sufficient numbers they marched with a firm pace to meet the enemy. The women followed their steps, with disquieted, indeed, and troubled eyes; but not a gesture, not a word, intimated a wish to retain them at home; some even put muskets and ammunition into their hands, nay, seemed to regret resigning to them these means of defending the rights of their country. As for these heroic bands themselves, no low pretension nor insulting outcries marked their demeanour; their countenances for the most part were grave and sad; but they became lighted up with animation before the bayonets, and under the fire of the soldiery.' "—vol. ii. p. 114.

"The excesses," now, we are informed, were not committed merely by "boys or the lowest classes of the population" (the nucleus, be it remembered, round which every insurrection is formed,) "many respectable citizens took an active share;" and we hear for the first time, of the *managers* of the insurrection," and "the popular *leaders*." The National Guard also re-appeared in the streets, and Lafayette assumed the command; "along with the return of the National Guard arose once more a long lost emblem of the past, peculiarly dear to the hearts of Frenchmen—the famous tri-colour." The Government became seriously alarmed, and Marmont was instructed to declare Paris in a state of siege. It was not long before a most fearful symptom of dissaffection exhibited itself. One of the Regiments of the line, the 15th Light Infantry, refused to act against the insurgents; and no prisoner at the Old Bailey bar, under a charge of Bigamy, ever extricated himself from moral guilt with greater

dexterity than did these military Casuists. When their Colonel perceived that they were wavering, he reminded them that they had sworn fidelity to the King. "*We have sworn it also to the Nation*" was the reply; which ingenious ambiguity appears to have delivered their consciences from any apprehension of perjury.

A Tobacconist's wife in the Place de Grève, was in labour during this day's conflict, and fourteen balls lodged in the poor woman's curtains. A fencing-master also distinguished himself greatly on the same spot, till then the Tyburn of Paris; on which a woman named Frottier, "*darted forward and seized a cannon which had just been discharged,*" whether she cut down the artillery men, spiked the gun, or turned it on the enemy is left in doubt. M. Papu, a young surgeon, was torn asunder between Patriotism and Profession; at one moment he dressed and bound up the wounds of his comrades; at another, he led charges and scattered death; and happy may he be deemed in having escaped comparison with the spear of Achilles for which somewhat well-worn simile we were fully prepared. A mortal wound cut him short in the middle of an operation; but while he continued to live "*he was occupied in forming prayers for the triumph of Liberty, and his ardent Patriotism imposed silence on his physical agonies.*"

But the following instance of precocious heroism is among the most remarkable events of this day, and it is altogether so characteristic and national, so French *par excellence*, that whether it be real or imaginary, it must not be omitted.

"An officer struck a child of twelve years of age with the flat of his sword, calling him at the same time a scoundrel (*gamin*) and a little thief; the boy ran to a little distance, hastily snatched a musket from a citizen, cocked it, came back running to the officer, who was standing at the end of the Rue de Choiseul, took aim at him, and shot him dead. When asked why he had committed this murder at his years, and what the officer had done to him as an individual; '*He insulted me,*' replied the child; '*it was necessary that he or I should die.*'"—p. 170.

One of the eye-witnesses, of whose narrative copious use is made, was very innocently exposed to undeserved danger. He appears to have been contemplating the movements of the combatants from a gouty chair.

"The column conducted by M. de St. Chamans had now reached the Boulevard St. Antoine. '*A great movement,*' says M. Gallois, '*takes place on the side paths, where there are still crowds of workmen. A cry is raised of Shut your windows;* and the same instant a large body of troops comes forward at a quick step, marching in close columns, across the whole breadth of the Boulevard. Some soldiers disposed as sharp-

shooters precede them by twenty paces ; these sharpshooters fire in the air and frequently at the windows, which they are anxious should not remain open, for fear of people firing from them upon the troops. Unfortunately the window-blinds of my chamber are open and fixed against the wall, and I am not able to rise to shut them. I see myself therefore exposed to the balls even in my chamber ; and a soldier of the Guards, who mistakes my crutches for *fusils de remparts*, threatens me. I make half a turn on the castors, and conceal myself behind the wall, conceiving that it would be doubly vexatious to get killed so foolishly.”—pp. 180, 181.

A “patriotic master manufacturer of aquafortis,” finding he could procure no weapon for himself or workmen, threw jars of his own destructive liquid in the faces of the soldiers. The wife of a wine-seller gave up her spoons to be run into bullets. An *English* type-founder (whence arose his “Patriotism?”) employed his workmen for two days in casting balls instead of letters ; and “a young lady and her maid actually thrust out *their* piano-forte upon the heads of the devoted troops who were passing under their *salon*.” Scalding water and oil streamed from many of the windows ; “a respectable inhabitant of Coventry, of the name of *Gin*,” who had been in Paris but two days, and “knew not a word of French,” encountered very great danger and was sadly frightened thereby. When he first sallied out to reconnoitre, “the streets seemed to wear an odd appearance, *but he thought the bustle was the custom of the Country*,” till a soldier or two being shot dead by his side, he was glad to get home and give up seeing any “more of the Revolution.” An Italian, Count Tasistro,—who happened to witness many of the combats, without having much more taste for them than Mr. Gin, and who is visited with great wrath by the Historian for his “political bias,”—saw a ruffian ferociously brandishing a magnificent sword, taken probably from some disabled officer. A friend in company with the Count, fancying the weapon, offered two double Napoleons for it ; but in vain ; the owner replied that he would not take a hundred. “But,” he added,

“ ‘If you wish to fight, we shall procure you a sword, and that instantly too.’ So saying, without more ado, he rushed forward like a man suddenly inspired ; and we soon discovered that the unfortunate object who had attracted his attention was a military officer, who was making the best of his way towards the Tuilleries. Our patriot soon put a stop to his career : having overtaken him unperceived, he drew out a pocket-pistol, which at first had escaped our notice, and shot him dead on the spot. As soon as our new acquaintance had thus despatched his victim, he unbuckled the sword from the dead body, and, running back, presented it to my friend, saying, ‘*Maintenant criez Vive la Charte*,’ (now cry the Charter for ever). ‘*Vive la Liberté*,’ added I immediately,

terrified lest M.'s hot temper might get us into some unfortunate scrape —on which the hero of the sword, quite proud of his exploit, immediately ran off in quest of other victims."—pp. 207, 208.

In this cold-blooded and gratuitous murder, Count Tasistro is at a loss to discover any very ennobling trait of character. Not so the keener-sighted Historian.

"It will probably be thought by most of our readers to afford at least an equally striking illustration of the manner in which the minds of many were exalted by the cause for which they fought, above all selfish and ignoble considerations, and filled, to the exclusion of whatever feelings regarded merely their individual interests, with the ennobling inspiration of patriotism and public virtue."—p. 208.

The total loss of the Guards in this day's fight exceeded 300 in killed and wounded, they had been under arms for eight and forty hours, and with the exception of a quarter of a ration of bread, served out to but a few battalions, there had been no issue of provisions of any kind during that period. When they retired at nightfall, utterly exhausted, the rabble commenced their work of barricades, which was continued throughout the night with unremitting toil. Women, "belonging to the superior classes," we are assured, assisted in tearing up the pavement, or in dragging along various materials; patriotic hackney coachmen overturned their *fiacres* in proper spots; and by daybreak 6000, or as some say, 10,000 of these fortresses (even the lower number, no doubt, a most portentous exaggeration) crossed the principal streets, breast high, four or five feet thick, and 40 or 50 paces apart from each other. The mob on the 29th increased greatly in numbers; but *some* of the recruits may excite a smile. Among them were, 1st. "many boys, not more than fifteen or sixteen years of age; but all evidently animated by the highest enthusiasm;" 2dly. Levy Abraham, a Jew, who, "on the first sound of the artillery, rushed to the scene of action, although unprovided with arms;"* and 3dly. Mr. Goldsmith, Dentist, an Englishman, who, resisting the entreaties of his wife and five children, joined the attack." Few champions on that field, it may be supposed, had a greater right to boast of his *extraction* than Mr. Goldsmith.

Τὰν ἀπὸ θηροτρόφου φοινικολόφοιο δράκοντος
γένναν οδοιτοφυνή.

Yet the fatality of the first illustrious transplanter of teeth

* It must be acknowledged "there was much kindness in this Jew."

"On some money being offered to him, he said that it was not for that he had fought; and he could only be prevailed upon at last to accept of ten francs to meet his immediate necessities, on condition that he should, the moment he was able, repay it, to be employed for the relief of those whom the liberation of their country had left widows and orphans."—pp. 271, 272.

pursued him, and after all it was no more than Καδμείη τις νίκη which he was permitted to claim. He was one of the first indeed to penetrate into the Louvre, but it was at the expense of a severe wound.

In the Louvre, the chief objects of popular fury were, such pictures as were connected with the Royal Family. Portraits of Charles X. and a picture of his Coronation, a *chef d'œuvre* of Girard, were pierced by countless bullets. The vulgar lust for destruction found easier gratification in the Tuilleries, where objects of less ideal value were exposed to indiscriminate rapine. Books, furniture, costly porcelain, and splendid mirrors were the first objects on which the senseless fury of the rabble vented itself.

“The toils of the day demanding refreshment, ‘the stores of the larder and the wine-cellars,’ we are told, ‘suffered in consequence considerably; the most delicious viands, and the choicest wines and liqueurs of every description, were partaken of by the visitors, and by crowds who had followed them into the palace, but who had no share in the dangers of its capture. The scene in the magnificent saloons on this occasion was curious and grotesque beyond description; hundreds of half-armed men, in tattered garments, covered with blood and dust, seated on the richly embroidered chairs of royalty and state, relating to each other the heroic feats they had witnessed, or the dangers they had escaped, formed a picture to which no pencil could render justice.”—vol. ii. p. 277.

The Triumphal Arch and the Marbles in the Garden were saved with difficulty. The Royal bed was a great centre of attraction, and groups threw themselves upon it in succession, to try how softly a King slept. The Throne too was occupied by drunkards and insulted with ribald jests, till the dead body of a pupil of the Polytechnic School, killed in the assault of the Palace, remained its final possessor. The lives of the Swiss, who garrisoned the Royal stables, were spared, with the exception of their officer, “a fine young German, who was *literally torn to pieces*,” and several of their comrades, who continued to fight with desperation in the streets, “were massacred after they had thrown down their arms.” Even as the soldiers withdrew from the city, they were murdered almost unresistingly, and a Mr. Parkes (alas! the name sounds English) thus boasts of some assassinations in which he shared.

“About three o'clock, as the troops were beginning to evacuate Paris, a courier informed us of their approach. We formed our men into companies of twenty, and placed them in ambush behind the trees, corners of houses, &c. The artillery had ten pieces of cannon, but only ammunition for two, which were charged with grape shot. It looked, I assure you, rather formidable to attack the horse artillery, a brigade of lancers, and several companies of foot, with only five hundred raw fellows; but

our project succeeded. We let them well into our ambush among the trees; and then, at the sound of a bugle, opened a fire on all directions, front, rear, and flanks. The troops were already dead beat, poor fellows, and desired nothing more than to retire. I had two muskets, and took an Irishman, one of my workmen, along with me, to load for me, so that I had nothing to do but fire."—vol. ii. p. 302, 303.

What crack shot could speak of an excellent day's sport among well preserved covers, with greater rapture than distinguishes the above account of this human *battú!*

And here we may close. Our remarks, it will be perceived, have not by any means been directed to the Revolution of 1830 itself, to the demerits of the Government which it overthrew, or to the instability of the mock monarchy which it has erected for a season. The sole object which we have had in view, was to reprobate that want of judgment, to say the least of it, which has exhibited to the admiration of an English Public, and extolled, as heroism, feats which, when stripped of the tinsel of French bombast and pseudo-sentiment, if they fail to disgust by their atrocities, subside into the purely ridiculous.

ART. V.—*A Practical Exposition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, in the form of Lectures; intended to assist the practice of Domestic Instruction and Devotion.* By John Bird Sumner, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester. London. Hatchard and Son. 1831.

INDEPENDENTLY of the intrinsic merits of this work, we feel considerable pleasure in bringing it forward to public notice at this particular juncture, because it will give us the opportunity of drawing the attention of our readers to the well-timed and abundant labours of our Episcopal Bench. We do not indeed suppose such a step necessary for the information of our clerical brethren, who cannot fail of knowing what has been done; but we feel that our friends among the laity may perhaps require to have their memories refreshed on this point, in order that their minds may be disabused of that strong delusion by which the open as well as secret enemies of our hallowed establishment have been, and are, endeavouring to beguile them. Never we firmly believe, at any period of the history of our church, did there exist a more talented, a more pious, a more efficient, or a more industrious body of men, than those who in these momentous times have been called upon to fill the high and solemn office of Bishops. No well grounded reproach can be laid against them

that they now merely shake the honours of their heads. The invidious distinction which has been attempted to be drawn between them and their humbler brethren in the ministry, will, upon a calm examination of their labours and their merits, be found to be most maliciously false. The epithet of the working clergy, is as strictly and correctly applicable to them as to the curate of the most populous parish, inasmuch as the toil of the mind is as fatiguing, nay, infinitely more so, than the toil of the body. They too, as well as others in our church, have deserved, and may justly have bestowed upon them the high encomium given to Simon the son of Onias, that they "have made the garment of holiness honourable." The miserable outcry now raised by the enemies of the church against her dignitaries, as if they alone had given themselves up to sloth and indolence, while others were performing all the labours of the vineyard, will, we believe, impose on none but on those who are willing to be deceived. Are Bishops and Dignitaries to be stripped of their revenues, and can we suppose that those of the Rector and the Vicar will remain untouched? Away with such delusive sophistry! But the insidious plot has failed—the temptation has been rejected—the bribe has been spurned. We are proud to say that the unbeneficed clergy have not joined in the yell against their richer brethren. They have shown themselves worthy of their office. We are convinced there is not one who would not reject with indignant scorn the office of being made rich by the spoliation of another. Many of them—too many are poor—but they bear their poverty without repining, they are proof against solicitations such as these. The foundation upon which they have built their attachment to the church of which they are members, is not upon the shifting quicksands of party politics—not upon the base consideration of what money they may make—as these pseudo-charitable persons kindly suppose, but upon principles which they cannot understand, and therefore cannot estimate. We must however refrain from saying all that our inclinations would lead us to say upon this theme, and proceed to the subject more immediately before us.

The intention of the present work is to promote and to assist family reading of the Scriptures, by furnishing a book containing such explanations and reflections as might naturally occur to one well acquainted with the sacred writings and the practical expositors: the remarks of one who, by meditation, desired to improve the words of life to his everlasting salvation—of one who, not only wished to read, but inwardly to digest. Many Bibles and Testaments have been published with the same object in view as that proposed by the Bishop of Chester. Most of these, however, from the length of the reflections, have, in a great degree, on

that account, been unfit for reading to a family, where brevity must, to a certain extent, be considered. And even Doddridge, deservedly the most popular, is not free from objection. Though nothing can be more pious, or more impressively earnest, than his *Improvements*, yet his paraphrase is so verbose, that the simplicity and force of the original passage is too generally impaired by the tedious amplification. The plan of Dr. Sumner is free from this blemish. Great skill has been shown in the division of the chapters, which are of so convenient a length that one or more may be taken at a reading according to circumstances; while the pauses are such as seem natural to the reader's train of thought. To stamp it too as the work of one sincerely attached to our Church, and to show the foundation upon which its doctrines rest, and their accordance with the word of God, we find frequently interspersed among the reflections the words of her articles and her liturgy. There is one omission, which we would strongly recommend to be supplied when another edition is called for, viz. that the words of the various texts referred to be printed at full length. In some places this is done; we wish it was universally so. More particularly would we press this when a reference is made to a passage in a prophet which received its fulfilment in some event in the Gospel. The infidel is never more completely foiled—the faith of the wavering is by nothing more strongly established—or the hopes of the confirmed Christian more enlarged—than when it is shown too plainly to be denied, and too clearly to be refuted, that “the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.” One other imperfection too which we may venture to notice is, that the language is not in all cases sufficiently simple to render the book so beneficial as it might have been to the lower classes of society, with which we fear, from that cause, it will not become a favourite. We know how difficult it is for a highly cultivated intellect to bring its thoughts and its language to a level with the understandings of the uneducated and the ignorant. We cannot, however, at the same time refrain from expressing our regret that the attempt is not more frequently made, in order that the poor may be supplied with such works as they can easily understand, and as would please them. This would be a means, and a most powerful means, of rescuing them from the delusion and emancipating them from the thralldom which wild and visionary enthusiasts contrive to exercise over them by the instrumentality of their deluding but intelligible publications. Other works of this kind we know are written for the use of the cottage and the poor, but when we consider the immense disproportion in number between the ignorant and the instructed, we could wish that all *practical comments* on the Holy Scriptures should be

available to the instruction and benefit of all. It is an object which every churchman should have in view in his writings, as well as in his sermons. We believe that many a well-intentioned son of the Church has been in a manner compelled to leave her hallowed pale, because the language of the pulpit was such as he was not familiar with, either from his reading of the Bible, or from his daily intercourse. The old advice that a preacher to the poor should adhere as much as possible to the words used in the Scriptures, ought always to be had in remembrance by the parish priest. We will make a few extracts from the work, showing the manner in which the Bishop has commented upon some of the texts, before we proceed to bring forward a few passages in which we differ from his explanations. Our quotations shall consist of the Bishop's sentiments on points which have long unhappily harassed both our congregations and our preachers, and on which we are glad to see that his language is unequivocal and uncompromising. The separation of faith and works, a question which ought long since to have been set at rest for ever, and the real character of Christian faith which worketh by love, are thus ably spoken of. It is from his note on the proceedings of the Last Judgment, as revealed in Math. xxv. 31—46.

“It is remarkable that the criterion of character here brought forward is taken entirely from works of mercy and charity. You have clothed the naked, and relieved the hungry, and visited the prisoner: what is done to the least of these my brethren, is done unto me: come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

“This, at first sight, seems opposed to the whole tenor of the Gospel, which declares that ‘we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works and deservings,’ (Art. XI.); that ‘by grace we are saved; not of works, lest any man should boast:’ that so far from relying upon our good deeds, our justice, our integrity, our zeal, or our charity, our language is to be, ‘when we have done all, we are unprofitable servants,’ who can advance no claim.

“The account, however, of the day of judgment, here given, does not contradict this truth. But it discloses the real nature of faith in Christ Jesus; which is not a mere assent to the history of his Advent and Incarnation; which is not a presumptuous confidence in his merits; but is the ‘receiving him’ with the whole heart, as ‘the way, the truth, and the life;’ the Redeemer to atone, the King or Lord to guide and rule. This is the faith which unites him to us, and us to him. This is the faith by which ‘he is made unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.’ This is the faith according to which ‘man believeth unto righteousness.’ And this faith will naturally and necessarily lead to the works here described of active charity.

“For, first, those who have this faith obey their Lord's precepts,

and his precepts tell us, that the characteristic of his disciples is to 'have love one towards another;' and that the law and the prophets are all comprehended in this, that 'whatsoever we would that men should do unto us, we do also unto them.'

"Secondly, those who have genuine faith in Christ, will imitate his example. And we well know that his example was the model of that benevolence which his precepts enjoin. If, then, 'he went about doing good,' so must his disciples. 'If he so loved us,' as our faith avows that he did, 'we ought also to love one another.'

"Thirdly, those who truly believe in Christ, learn of him to view their fellow creatures in a light peculiar to the Christian; for their fellow creatures are those whom he so loved, as to descend from heaven for their redemption; those whom he so pitied, as to lay down his life for their sakes. And therefore it is, that if hungry, they are to be fed; if naked, they are to be clothed; if strangers, they are to be cared for; if sick or in prison, they are to be visited; if erring, they are to be reclaimed; if young, they are to be nurtured; if ignorant, they are to be instructed. Thus, manifesting our 'love not in word, neither in tongue, but in deed and in truth; we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him.' For he has said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

"Those then who are here represented as the righteous, who 'go into life eternal,' are rewarded for their works. And the Gospel universally declares, that men shall be rewarded for their works. But the ground of their acceptance, is still their faith. And the cause why they have wrought those works, is their faith. Faith is the principle, works the effect. Holiness, purity, temperance, integrity, mercy, charity, are proofs of the existence and of the soundness of the principle from which they spring."

See also on the same subject the note on Matth. xvii. 20. In opposition to that most pernicious and lamentable of all doctrines, absolute and irrespective predestination, we find the following remarks. After enumerating the wicked and the careless way of life in which so many of the world are contented to live, he says—

"Hence the lamentable conclusion, *strait is the gate which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* 'This, however, ought not to discourage, but to warn and animate. It may justly warn us to know, that *broad is the way that leadeth to destruction*: but it may also justly animate us, to be assured that there is a gate which opens the kingdom of heaven to all believers. This gate, strait as it is, 'whoever will' may enter; this way, narrow as it is, 'whoever will' may keep. The invitation is clear, the promise sure; experience verifies the words of the Redeemer—'I am the door; by me if any man enter in he shall be saved.' Only let us exercise our reason; and if he whom we profess to trust, affirms that *the way of life is narrow*, let us not act as if it never could be missed; let us constantly examine whether we have discovered it, whether we remain in it; and constantly watch that we may not be diverted from it."—*Note on Matth. vii. 14.*

"It has pleased God in the Gospel covenant, to promise eternal life to such as shall possess a certain character, or answer a certain description. He does not assign it to particular persons, but to a particular description of persons. Not to this or that individual, but to every individual on whom that character is found."—*Note on Matth. xx. 23.*

As an antidote to those instantaneous conversions, always doubtful, and frequently insincere, we have the following remark on the gradual growth of holiness; it occurs in the note on Mark, c. iv. v. 28. After beautifully describing the progressive increase of the early Christian church, and the secret and gradual way in which the Gospel would grow both in the world at large, and in the hearts of individuals,

"Yet it may happen, under the most unpromising appearances, that while men *sleep and rise, night and day*, the seed shall spring up, and *the earth bring forth fruit*. First appears a seriousness unknown before, a sense of the value of the soul, an apprehension of eternity. Then a movement of the heart towards him, who invites all *who have ears to hear*; and at last, a true Scriptural faith, attended by 'works meet for repentance;' proving that though man knows not how the growth takes place, the Spirit has wrought it. For 'the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.'

"How much then depends on this—whether the seed does *spring, and grow up, and bring forth fruit!* The same husbandman will say to the reapers, 'gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them.' Let us remember, it is no matter of indifference, no matter of mere curiosity, no matter of worldly interest; it is matter of life or death,—eternal life, eternal death—whether there are signs of *the blade, or the ear, or the full corn in the ear.*"

These extracts will show how ably and how well the Bishop has fulfilled his intentions. Our limits will allow us to make only one more quotation; it is from the reflection on Mark vi. 50. After enumerating the various trials which await the Christian in his passage to a better world, and the comfort which he experiences in them all from the knowledge that Christ is his Saviour, he proceeds:

"One certain trial awaits us all. In other respects men differ. Some escape the pains of sickness; and some escape the troubles of poverty; and to some God gives the rich enjoyment of domestic comforts. But in this all are equal—that there is one trial which none escape. The hour of death must come upon every individual. A fearful hour; when the soul is about to leave this world, and all that is known and dear to it, and to enter on a strange country: and when illness makes the body weak, and less able to stand up against a man's own fears, and the grief of surrounding friends. A fearful hour; when the present feeling is the feeling of pain and misery, and the next step will lead to the throne

of God, when we shall be called to give account of our works, and to 'receive according to the things done in the body.'

"This then is the hour when every man who has the faculty of thought must stand in need of comfort. And the Lord Jesus affords that comfort to the sincere Christian. He whispers, *It is I, be not afraid*. You could not be summoned from the world, except as I see fit; your pain, your illness, is a messenger from me; I have witnessed your faith, and heard your earnest prayers; and now I call you out of the world of trial, to inherit the kingdom prepared for all who trust in me, that where I am you may be also. Be not afraid. It is I who shall preside at the judgment-seat; God will 'judge the world by that man whom he hath ordained,' and 'whoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.' Such is the support which Christ furnishes to all his faithful servants in the day of their trials. Under his protection sorrow loses its bitterness, and death is disarmed of his sting. Learn daily to make him more and more your friend, by meditating more on what you owe to him; by dwelling on your sinfulness, till you increase your sense of the value of his mediation; by desiring to learn his will, and studying to perform it faithfully. Then draw nigh to him, and he will draw nigh to you."

We shall now proceed to a remark on one or two passages in which our opinion differs from the learned and pious author. In the notes on the instructive history of the young man who came to inquire of the Redeemer, "What good thing he should do that he might have eternal life," Math. ix. 15—30, we think there are some expressions liable to misconception. The comment says—"It is as true under the Gospel as under the law that whosoever will enter into life must keep the commandments. This indeed would be in itself a very incomplete statement, and would convey a very incorrect description of Gospel truth. But Jesus saw fit to use it as the basis of his teaching on this occasion. We may often properly do the same. 'The law is as a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.'" Now we cannot bring ourselves to conceive that He who came into the world to save sinners, and to be, as Himself emphatically declares, "the Way and the Truth," would, on a subject of such momentous importance, and to a question of such awful interest, have given an answer *incomplete* in its statement, or *incorrect* in its description. Neither can we properly do the same. Nor to us who have never lived under the law, but who live under the revealed dispensation of faith, can it be correctly said, that the law is as a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ. This would seem to make works the parent, instead of the fruits, of faith. The Christian sees no incomplete statement when he is told that "to enter into life he must keep the commandments," because he knows how much is involved in that divine precept. He remembers his own weak-

ness, and his Saviour's declaration, "without me ye can do nothing." He claims no merit; for he is conscious that when he has done all he is but an "unprofitable servant." He bears constantly in mind that "without faith it is impossible to please God." The Christian's desire and labour is to do the work which he is sent to do. He labours to make his calling and election sure; and by the assistance of divine aid, and with fear and with trembling, he strives to "keep the commandments in order that he may enter into life." The conclusion of the history shows how far the young man was from having [in reality kept the commandments—how little he knew of their spiritual import, and how self-deluded he was with respect to his own principles. The Redeemer saw his heart—saw that it was not engaged with all its strength in the service of religion—that God was not loved with all his might, nor his neighbour as himself. He had perhaps never undergone temptation—his observances had been strictly ceremonial; there was the unhumbled mind, the pharisaical spirit. The direct commandments which he had kept, had possibly cost him no self-denial to observe—he had sacrificed to the Lord of that which cost him nothing. Among these prescribed rules of duty the love of money was not expressly and verbally forbidden; the young man therefore thought it no sin to indulge that fatal passion to the utmost. This was his besetting sin, and when the renouncing of that was required, his obedience failed—his religion, like the early dew, passed away, and we hear of him no more.

An inaccuracy, we think, is contained in an admirable note (Math. xxii. 12) on that combination of faith and holiness which compose the wedding garment. "An idle barren trust in Christ, as having done all for us, is only a part of the wedding garment." Now the very instance of the speechless, self-convicted guest in the parable abundantly proves that an idle barren trust is *no part* of the wedding garment. He had accepted the invitation of the king, confident that the acceptance was the only thing required, and that the master of the feast would provide all that was requisite, and therefore took no pains to fit himself for the banquet. The personal holiness was wanting, and his presumptuous appearance at the table procured for him only the bitter sentence, "Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness—there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," an awful and impressive warning!

Among other testimonies to the truth of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the spoliation of the Temple, we regret that there had not been mentioned one of the most satisfactory and the most incontrovertible, viz. the testimony of the arch of Titus, with its

sacred candlestick, its table of shew-bread, its cup, and its trumpets—and the evidence of medals. These speak a language which the sceptic dare not attempt to deny, and which are far more convincing to the deluded and deluding followers of such as Carlisle, than even the vivid, graphic, and harrowing description of the Jewish historian (Matth. xxiv. v. 3).

In the notes on the parable of the Ten Virgins, (Matth. xxv. v. 1—13.) we are inclined to believe that the interpretation has gone beyond the scope of the text. The spiritualizing of the 8th and 9th verses, though beneficial, is not according to the correct rules of interpretation, and the transgression of which rules is liable, in less able and pious hands, to become a fruitful source of fanaticism and error. The slumbering and sleep of both the wise as well as the foolish virgins, is not, we think, according to the note on the 5th verse, in one instance the sleep of “carelessness,” and in the other, the repose of “tranquillity,” but rather alludes to the effect which worldly concerns may have for a short space even upon the truly religious—that remitting of vigilance and care, which may sometimes be laid to the charge even of the best. “In many things,” as St. James says, “we all offend.” But the sound and settled religious principle of the truly wise is not extinguished, it may not always burn with the same vivid lustre, but it exists, though dimmed perhaps for a season, and is capable of being always brought into action. This parable, however, and that of the Talents, ought, we imagine, to be considered as an elucidation and an amplification of the 44th and 45th verses of the 24th chapter; the one inculcating watchfulness, the other, diligence in our Christian callings.

The sound and sober use of the Sabbath, freed from that puritanical and pharisaical strictness on the one hand, and that latitudinarianism on the other, so justly, so deservedly to be reprobated, is admirably set forth. We shall not enter into a discussion on the question which has lately been revived, as to whether the observance of the Sabbath is founded on the moral or on the ceremonial law, but beg our reader's attention to the following sensible and pious remark. We regret that our limits will not allow us to give the whole note of which this is the conclusion.

“Those things may be done on the Sabbath, which necessity; or reasonable convenience requires. Those things are not to be done, which interfere with the main purpose of the day. Exact rules can hardly be laid down. Neither will they be wanted, if the heart be right with God. The heart which is right with God, will not consent to be deprived of its best comfort, its chief delight; it will not consent to be always careful and troubled about many things when one thing is needful; neither will it consent that others should be, except by their own fault and choice.

And the reward will be according to the promise, increasing 'delight in the Lord;' growth 'in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ;' better preparation for that 'rest which remaineth for the people of God.'—Mark, ii. v. 27.

The sad and crying abuse of that day which the Lord hath commanded to be kept holy, demands a more strict attention than that which our legislators seem disposed to give it. At present it is most grievously desecrated, and such desecration calls imperatively on every Christian who is desirous that his religion should not perish from the land, to use his most strenuous endeavours both by precept, and by example, and by his influence over others, to stem that overflowing of ungodliness, which may well excite the fears of the reflecting and the serious. If the observance of the Sabbath be neglected, religion must fall. For we may venture to assert, that he who refuses to dedicate to God the first day of the week, will not be likely to keep Him or His laws in remembrance during the remaining six. We regret that the admirable and seasonable Letter of the present Bishop of London should have failed in producing much, if any, correction of those lamentable abuses, which he so feelingly pourtrayed and piously deplored.

In another edition we should also recommend that a somewhat fuller account be given of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and of the peculiar objects of their respective Gospels; the short note, page 490, is hardly sufficient.

We here take leave of the present work, grateful to Dr. Sumner for the able manner in which he has fulfilled his intention. Looking forward with considerable pleasure to the time when the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John shall make their appearance under the same happy auspices, fully confident, from the well-known ability and piety of the author, that his work will be a blessing to the Christian world; inasmuch as it will tend to promote the reading of the Book of Life. For in his own words,—

“Whether in precept or in doctrine, only the constant study of Scripture can keep men up to the standard of Scripture. For this purpose we read it daily; we read it repeatedly; not that we expect to find any new thing, any discoveries as to faith or practice; but that our faith may not turn to unbelief, or our practice be conformed to this world.”
“Thou, Lord, hast commanded us to keep thy precepts diligently. Uphold us according to thy word, that we may live.”

ART. VI.—*The Duty of a Christian People under Divine Visitations.* By the Rev. Newton Smart, M. A. of University College, Oxford. London: Rivingtons; and Hatchard and Son. Oxford: Parker and Talboys. Durham: Andrews. Newcastle: Charnley. Sunderland: Renney. 1832.

AT length the Cholera, after prowling over half the world, has taken its station at the metropolis of England. For several months it had been creeping about the north, selecting for its prey the victims of intemperance and filth, of poverty and despair. And now it has appeared in the vast suburbs of London, inhabited, as they *partly* are, by perhaps the most destitute population on earth. It has shown itself precisely in those miserable haunts of vice, ignorance, and misery, which combine many of the worst evils of barbarism and civilization.

As might have been expected, its approach has been the signal for incessant skirmishings among the professors of the art of healing. The leeches, it is well known, are evermore an irritable race; and no one can be surprised that a new medical problem should set their polemical propensities in immediate and violent action. The contagionists, and non-contagionists are, accordingly, in perpetual and feverish activity. The journals are "horribly stuffed" with professional controversy. To this hour, the public mind is distracted with the question, whether, or not, we are visited by the genuine plague which has been sweeping myriads before it, on its march from Asia through Europe; and whose ravages in India, according to the testimony of Rammohun Roy, have been so stupendous, as to relieve those swarming regions of a vast amount of superfluous population. In the midst of all this din, thus much appears at least to be established—that we have in our borders a malady of frightful malignity, which frequently inflicts a degree of torture scarcely to be exceeded by that of the rack; that the visible effects of this disorder upon the human frame are such as, sometimes, almost to overpower the firmness and self-possession of men long accustomed to contemplate every form and variety of physical suffering; and that it consigns to the grave nearly one-third of the victims which it seizes. All this, one would imagine, must be enough to appal the spirits of men, and to make their hearts sink within them. But, nevertheless, there are some considerations which are pretty generally at work to arrest the progress of terror. In the first place the distemper has not, as yet, assumed among us the character of a "wideswasting pestilence." It has been slowly and insidiously winning its way among lanes, and allies, and obscure places; the "*locasenta situ*" of this gigantic labyrinth of human dwellings; and it

has been doubted whether, on the whole, it has assignably augmented the usual average of mortality. In the second place, the more respectable and prosperous portion of society is wrapping itself up in the comfortable assurance that, in this country at least, the disease will always, as it has hitherto done, reserve its fury for constitutions ruined either by privation or excess, or by the alternations of these causes; and they, accordingly, hope that the mark of the destroying angel shall never be set upon their doorposts. And lastly, the fear of the cholera is, in a considerable measure, neutralized by an antagonist, and still more powerful, alarm; namely, the apprehension of ruinous embarrassment to the operations of commerce, from the rigorous and precipitate adoption of precautionary measures. We are, ourselves, in no condition to estimate very precisely the value of these considerations: and most, assuredly, we see no wisdom in any attempt to deepen the "horrors of the time" by tolling out notes of dismal and funereal augury. On the other hand, however, it would be disgraceful in reasonable and religious men to turn away their eyes from dark and lowering signs that may be gathering in the heavens. And, at all events, there is one circumstance which ought to be recollected, and which may well be sufficient to dash the spirit of security. The winter is scarcely yet gone. The spring is yet to come. And who can tell that the dampness and warmth of vernal skies may not give a fearful developement to the *miasma*, and send it into the dwellings of competency and comfort, as well as into the hovels of sordid and dissolute indigence?

But there are other symptoms, in these times, besides the wrathful conflicts of the Faculty, and the contest between nervous alarm on the one side, and commercial dismay on the other;—symptoms which by no means indicate a very satisfactory state of salubrity in more important regions. There seems to be something of a *miasma* afloat, at least in certain parts of the moral atmosphere of our country; and this, too, of no ordinary malignity. Its operation, in some respects, is analogous to that of the destructive physical element of which we are all more or less in dread. It attacks those moral constitutions which have been weakened or undermined either by poverty of nutriment, or by too free a use of those potent drugs and preparations which are distilled and rectified in the laboratory of modern liberalism. It moreover is found, occasionally, to produce an effect, not altogether dissimilar to that, which was exemplified in the case of persons who, in ancient days, were afflicted by the possession of certain powers, whose name was Legion;—of persons, who were thrown into violent agitation, by the presence, and even by the very name, of celestial purity and holiness. The unhappy pa-

tients we are now contemplating, are positively unable to hear the slightest mention of Providence, without falling into violent spasmodic action. And then come the scornful grimace, and the unhallowed taunt, and the words of irreverence, if not of blasphemy. Are we called upon to recognise the hand of the Moral Governor of the world, in the visitation which appears to be hanging over us?—the very chamber of legislature instantly echoes with loud denunciations of cant, hypocrisy, and “*humbug!*”—and the express intercession of a prelate of the Church is found necessary to secure the insertion of this hated acknowledgment, in the preamble to an act, devised by human wisdom, for our protection against the impending scourge. Is the country exhorted to public humiliation before the throne of Him to whom vengeance belongeth,—and are the directors of our counsels called upon to obtain the royal sanction to this becoming act of national penitence and sorrow?—the propounder of the motion is impelled to close the doors of the senate, lest the public ear should be assailed with those sounds of impiety which, in his apprehension, would burst forth to interrupt and to desecrate their deliberations. We speak not here of the prudence or the expediency of his precaution. We advert to it, purely, as one strange symptom of the times in which we live. The very anticipation of such a reception to his proposal is, of itself, a fearful sign of an unhealthy condition of the elements in the *high places* of our land. And if we look to the *low places*, the survey is by no means more full of encouragement and hope. If a fast is spoken of, we hear of nothing but the mockery of an attempt to propitiate offended heaven by the substitution of the flakes of salted fish, for the slices of the sirloin: and we are scornfully reminded of the absurdity of the imagination, that we can divert Providence from its course by the interposition of our empty solemnities and antics. In short, an evil spirit is abroad; and he enters precisely in every heart which he finds unoccupied by any adverse tenant,—with every obsolete prejudice swept away,—with all the *garniture* of shallow and trashy accomplishment about it—and there he inhabits and rules without disturbance. And, if we are to listen to the oracles which issue from his abode, nations may slumber and take their rest, while the invisible ministers of God are travelling through the earth, *in the greatness of their strength*, and the terrors of their Majesty. All public forms of deprecation, all outward manifestations of contrition, are, not only unavailing formalities,—they are no better than so much laughable impertinence, and superstitious posture-making. They are the miserable remnants of ancient priestcraft, now sewed together

again, merely as patchwork coverings for hypocrisy, or as a coat of many colours for the foolery of fanaticism!

All this, the reader perceives, savoureth marvellously of a certain sort of wisdom which we will not describe, but which he will find ready described to his hand in the New Testament.* It is some comfort to find that the *powers that be* have resisted the *spirit of the age*; though not without much misgiving and hesitation—not without much solemn and anxious talk, respecting the inexpediency of converting the Commons' House of Parliament into a school for theological discussion. All theological discussion in the Commons' House of Parliament, might, indeed, have been easily avoided by the earlier adoption of a measure, to the propriety of which the voice of many religious persons urgently demanded attention. However, we are unwilling to dwell on the preliminary process which has terminated in a satisfactory result. It has been felt, or, at least it has been practically confessed, that, after all, there is nothing extravagantly fanatical in calling upon a people, which professes a belief in Divine Revelation, to assemble, on a stated day, in the House of God, there to acknowledge His Supreme dominion over the destiny of empires, and to deprecate the wrath which has signally visited many other nations, and now appears to be hanging over our own. And, accordingly, before these pages can see the light, the professors of the *wisdom* above alluded to will have witnessed that consummation of folly, upon which they have been emptying the phials of their indignation and contempt, the solemnity of a General Fast, for the sins of the British Nation.

That the very word, *Fast*, should minister some occasion for sarcasm and raillery to them that sit in the seat of the scornful, is, perhaps, not altogether surprising. Voluntary *fasting*, it must be allowed, is a practice which has grown into almost universal desuetude, at least, in Protestant countries; and there is no one of our manifold *heresies* which more exposes us to the contempt of the Greek, and perhaps of the Romish Church, than the utter abandonment of this ancient department of religious duty. Whether it would be expedient or useful to attempt the revival of this mode of discipline, it is not our purpose to inquire. But the fact must be acknowledged. Religious abstinence,—either at certain seasons, or on certain prescribed occasions of religious solemnity,—is now nearly unknown among us. It has, somehow or other, been overborne by a silent revolution of our habits. The progress of our high civilization has, gradually, destroyed it. The careless and the sensual think of it only to deride it.

* James, iii. 15.

The most religious people in the kingdom, being conscious of habitual temperance and moderation, feel their scruples but slightly agitated by the omission of it. And then, there are multitudes, in the present state of society, whose effeminate habits or sedentary pursuits, positively disable them for any serious deviation from the cautious regularity of their diet, either on the side of abstinence or excess. To endure a real *fast*, without much inconvenience to the whole animal system, implies a constitution of no ordinary hardihood and vigour. A North American savage will far outdo the penances of almost any civilized ascetic. In our dyspeptic population, a sudden change in their mode of life, or even the interruption of it for a single day, would, in numerous instances, produce no other effect than that of rendering the individuals, who might attempt it, just so much the more unfit for religious exercises, or for any other social or moral duty. And so long as our scheme of life continues so highly artificial and refined, while the disciplinarian powers of the Church are so feeble and imperfect, there seems to be little prospect of any change or reformation in this particular. It may, therefore, be fairly conceded, that the appearance of the salt fish and parsnips, on occasions of public humiliation, is now very little more than the fragment of an ancient custom,—a memorial of primitive austerity and self-denial. It has, really, about as much connection with devotional feeling, as the apparition of minced pies at Christmas, or pancakes on Shrove-Tuesday. And while this is the case, the gentlemen of liberal notions, the interpreters of the *spirit of the age*, must, we fear, continue in almost undisturbed possession of one topic for the exercitation of their sarcastic powers.

It should, further, be recollected, that the very genius of Protestantism, is decidedly adverse to the rigorous and literal enforcement of religious fasting. It is so in its own proper nature. It is, of course, much more eminently so in its abuse. When once men have been solemnly taught that outward observances and practices are but as the husk and shell of religion, they will easily bring themselves to the persuasion, that the kernel is the only thing worth their regard; forgetting that the husk and shell may be very useful for the effectual preservation of the kernel. And here, too, the spirit of self-indulgence is very apt to step in; and to join itself in a sort of insidious league with a spirit of a very different order. And, between them, they will find little difficulty in persuading us that a painful sense of inanition can, by no possibility, be required to render our devotions acceptable to God. And thus it is that what with our dread or our contempt of superstition, and what with our aversion to the infliction of any unusual severities on the flesh, our *fasts* have, gradually, lost much of their original and distinguishing character. All absti-

nence that deserves the name is nearly abandoned. It is gone down, together with the sackcloth and ashes, and the whole penitential apparatus of former days: and little remains, in the season of fasting, beyond the public services of devotional humiliation.*

* We here subjoin the "Fourme of the Order for the Generall Fast," to be continued every Wednesday during the Pestilence, which occurred in 1563, and which has recently been printed in the British Magazine, No. 1. p. 33.

"It is moste evident to them that reade the Scriptures, that both in the olde Church under the Lawe, and in the Primitive Church under the Gospell, the people of God hath alwayes used generall Fastyng, both in tymes of common calamities, as Warre, Famine, Pestilence, &c.; and also when any wayghtie matter, touchyng the estate of the Church or common wealthe, was begon or intended. And it cannot be denyed, but that in this our tyme, wherein many thinges have been reformed accordyng to the doctrine and examples of God's worde and the Primitive Church, this part for Fastyng and abstinence, beyng alwayes in the Scripture, as a necessary companion, joyned to fervent prayer, hath ben to much neglected.

"Wherefore, for some begynnyng of redresse herein, it hath ben thought meete to the Quene's Majestie, that in this contagious tyme of sickness and other troubles and unquietness, accordyng to the examples of the Godly Kyng Josaphat, and the Kyng of Ninive, with others, a generall Fast should be joyned with generall Prayer throughout her whole Realme, and to be observed of all her godlye subjectes, in manner and fourme followyng.

"Fyrst, it is ordeyned, that the Wednesday of every weke, shal be the day appoynted for this generall Fast.

"Secondly, all persons betwene the age of 16 yeres & 60 (sicke folkes and labourers in harvest or other greate labours, only excepted), shall eate but one only competent & moderate meale upon every Wednesday. In which sayd meale, shal be used very sober and spare diet, without varietie of kyndes of meate, dyshes, spyces, confectiones, or wyne, but only such as may serve for necessitie, comlynesse, and health.

"Item, in that meale it shal be indifferent to eat fleshe or fyshe, so that the quantitie be small, and no varietie or delycacie be sought. Wherein every man hath to aunswere to God, if he in such Godly exerceyses, eyther contempne Publique order, or dissemble with God, pretendyng abstinence, and doyng nothyng lesse.

"Item, those that be of wealthe & libilitie, ought dayle to abate and diminishe the costlynesse and varietie of theyr fare, and encrease therewith theyr liberalitie and almes towards the poore, that the same poore, whiche eyther indede lacke foode, or els that which they have is unseasonable and cause of sycknes, may thereby be relieved and charitably succoured, to be mainteyned in health.

"Last of all, this day beyng in this maner appoynted for a day of generall Prayer and Fastyng, ought to be bestowed by them which may forbear from bodyly labour, in Prayer, studye, readyng, or hearyng of the Scriptures, or good exhortations, &c. And when any dulnesse or wearynesse shall aryse, then to be occupied in other Godly exerceyses: But no parte thereof to be spent in playes, pastymes, or ydlenesse, muche lesse in lewde, wicked, or wanton behavoure."

In all this, it will be perceived, there is nothing very formidable. It enjoins that there shall only be one *competent and moderate meal*, on every Wednesday, *whether flesh or fish*, and that all the greater mysteries of cookery be, for that day, abjured. We believe that, at the present day, with all its refinements and effeminacies, there are multitudes of affluent people who observe a rule very nearly approximating to this, almost every day of their lives. Our breakfasts are a very insignificant affair, when compared with the mighty morning refections of our forefathers. Our luncheons are, generally, no more than is sufficient to prevent faintness,—and many abstain from them altogether. Our dinners are, after all, the one *grand competent meal* of the day. There was, probably, something of a coarse voracity, in the 16th century, which is now banished from all good society, and for which a more frequent recurrence of gastric discipline might then be exceedingly salutary, both with a view to the bodily and the spiritual health.

And well would it be for us if the Spirit of the Age were disposed to spare even these. We should feel but little alarm for the desuetude into which the outward process of corporeal penance has fallen, could we behold a people assembling in the House of God, and lifting up there, with one heart, the voice of deprecation and contrition. Cholera, or no cholera, the call for such a manifestation of religious sorrow has now an urgency which it never, perhaps, had before, in the whole compass of our History. There is, at this moment, beneath us a heaving and restless ocean of pauperism; and its tide is perpetually rising before our eyes; and the voice of deep calling unto deep becomes daily and hourly more appalling; so that all their billows seem threatening to go over us. All this while, the economists and politicians are plying their theories with incessant toil; and their labours seem to us, in some sort, to resemble the computations of science, wrought out by the masters of navigation, while the ship is actually within the gigantic suction of the whirlpool, and is drifting, with perceptible acceleration, towards the engulfing centre of it. The pestilence, it is true, is a stupendous scourge. But, terrific as it is, we know not whether even pestilence itself could work such havoc among us as that wherewith we are imminently menaced, from that moral and economic derangement which is making so fearful an invasion upon our social system. Unless the evil can be arrested, there must await us a crisis of such intense and intolerable wretchedness, that whenever it shall arrive, it may be truly said, "there hath been no such distress in any land—no such wrath on any people." And by nothing—according to all human estimation—can it be arrested, but by the instant application of all our faculties to two objects—first, to the gradual modification, preparatory to the eventual discontinuance of our present laws for the encouragement of pauperism; and, secondly, to the instant establishment of a universal scheme of popular education, animated and pervaded by the vital spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.* One of the direst Furies attendant upon a sweeping plague, is the spirit of reckless and desperate licentiousness, which is almost certain to spring up out of that boiling cauldron of wrath and tribulation. But the same minister of destruction will as surely be found in the train of that great national mischief which we are now more immediately contemplating, namely, the accumulation of an enormous mass of misery and destitution, in the midst of our teeming prosperity, and imperial grandeur. The ultimate result of such an accumulation must inevitably be, that ignorance, impiety, and desperation, will be

* See Dr. Chalmers's recent work on Political Economy, *passim*.

let loose upon all our institutions, and our land become the scene of an overthrow so dreadful, that future ages shall point to it, even as the finger of religion now points to the horrors which marked the downfall of the city of God. And this is the period in which our sages are proclaiming their contrivances for re-casting the scheme of our national representation, as if this were a sort of mystic *censer*, with which the political mediator could plant himself between the living and the dead, so that the plague should instantly be staid. And this, too, is the time, in which a voice is loudly lifted up, not much unlike to that which was once lifted up in the midst of the tents of Israel; and which caused the earth to open, and the pestilence to descend upon the congregation. Infatuations like these, we repeat, are, themselves, among the most awful signals of the age; and, whether the public solemnity of humiliation were enjoined or not, they would, at least, be enough to bring all thoughtful and lowly Christians upon their knees, and cause them to strive in prayer with the God of all might and consolation, that he would *repent him of the evil*, and stay the hand of the destroying Angel which seems, even now, to be stretched out over our provinces. And if the choice were left to them, as it was to David, their cry would, probably, be like his, *Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; and let us not fall into the hands of man.* If one of the two must betide, let it even be the pestilence, rather than the horrors of revolution and anarchy!

It will be observed that the Proclamation issued by the King for a General Fast, like all other similar instruments, distinctly recognizes the necessity of "Sending up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty for averting those *heavy judgments* which our manifold provocations have so justly deserved." There are, doubtless, many persons in the kingdom who regard this language as purely *formulary*; just as much so, as the language of an indictment, when it charges a man, who has invaded the sanctity of his neighbour's nose, with an offence against our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity. The whole is merely an affair of *precedent*; a mode of speech handed down regularly from one generation to another; and therefore not to be resorted to as containing any serious national recognition of the overruling providence of the Almighty! Until persons of this description are brought into a state of more habitual reverence for the majesty and power of God, it must be a vain thing to attempt any impression on their minds, by the force of argument or exhortation. They are cased in a sort of *cushion-work* of spiritual apathy, which will deaden the most active assault which can be made upon their feelings by the zeal of man, or the powers of the

world to come. They must therefore, it is to be feared, be left to the comfort, such as it is, of that security which is to be derived from heaviness of ear, and dullness of eye, and fatness of heart, until it shall please that Power, with whom all things are possible, to shake them out of their moral lethargy. Others, we believe, there are, who seriously profess to doubt whether *Divine Judgments* be an expression which has any meaning under the existing Dispensation. According to them, the phrase has been without intelligible import ever since the extinction of the Jewish economy. It might be very well to talk of *Divine Judgments* in a condition of society whose movements were under the especial direction of Providence. But from the moment which terminated that peculiar state of things, up to the present hour, the Lord, we are told, is, in the strictest sense, *a God who hideth himself*. All his counsels are now equally inscrutable. All his ways are equally concealed. We are, now, no longer warranted in speaking of the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, as ministers of Divine Displeasure. A plague which sweeps away millions upon millions with its breath, is no more to be regarded as the especial work of heaven, than the small epidemics which occasionally visit a province or a district. Deluges of blood may flow at the bidding of a Tamerlane or a Napoleon; but to call either of them the scourge of God, is now a mere figure of speech, which might just as reasonably be applied to a bandit of the Apennines, or a buccaneer of the western seas. The famine may cause all faces to gather blackness, throughout the length and breadth of the mightiest empire; but the hand of Omnipotence is no more discernible in the calamity, than it is in the smallest local failures and disappointments of agriculture. Our speculations, in short, are bounded, at the present day, by an adamantine wall of second causes, which defy all our attempts to scale them or to look beyond them. Such, if we rightly apprehend them, are the views, which are deliberately entertained by some even among our divines; and if these views be just, the language of his Majesty's proclamation must be considered as full of error, or presumption. And as this conclusion is somewhat startling, we shall, perhaps, be pardoned for venturing to offer a few cautious words upon the subject.

There can scarcely, perhaps, be named a subject which demands a greater sobriety of spirit: In dealing with it, we are beset, on the one hand, by the dangers of superstition or enthusiasm; on the other, by those of a cold and dreary scepticism. And, moreover, any inquirer who should resolve to pursue the question whithersoever it may lead him, is sure to find himself, at last, toiling through that endless labyrinth of questions which are

connected with "fixed fate, free will, and fore-knowledge absolute." It becomes us, therefore, reverently *to keep our feet, and to take heed to our steps*, when we enter upon inquiries which may lead us into those regions where human powers must inevitably be bewildered and lost. Our only safety lies in a steady resolution to contemplate just so much of the subject, as may be profitable for those very purposes, for which the oracles of Revelation itself have been recorded; namely, for reproof, for instruction, and for accomplishment in every good word and work.

Proceeding in this spirit, we may remark, in the first place, that no human being can be entitled to fix upon any one event, or any sequence of events, and confidently to pronounce that *there* the arm of the Lord has been *specially* revealed—unless the event itself be clearly miraculous, or unless it fulfils the announcement of some undoubted prediction. In that case, indeed, the conclusion that superhuman power has interfered, must of course be irresistible. Of every occurrence attended with supernatural circumstances, it is quite allowable to speak as a deviation from the line of God's ordinary providence; and this, notwithstanding such occurrences must be regarded as forming originally a part of the whole scheme of His moral government. It is quite obvious that no danger or confusion can arise from the habit of contemplating events of this description as apart from the usual and customary course of the Divine dealings. No one, for instance, can find the slightest difficulty in distinguishing between the appearance of a destructive malady in the camp of a great conqueror, and the sudden loss of Sennacherib's army by the breath of the destroying Angel, in strict accordance with the language of a prophetic threat to that effect. But when mankind are living under a dispensation which is *not* miraculous, there must unavoidably be a change in the course of their thoughts, and in the tone of their language, relative to the most stupendous events in the current history of the species. Plagues, conquests, revolutions, famines, may successively inflict the most terrific desolation; but still they are within the ordinary powers of what man calls nature. They *may* be produced by the undisturbed action of secondary causes. There consequently must, under such circumstances, be an end to all *dogmatical* assumption, that any one of these calamities is, in any particular instance, to be regarded as a manifest expression of God's especial displeasure.

But though all this is undeniable, there is likewise another truth, which, though of a more negative character, is equally indisputable; namely, that we cannot be certain that the Almighty does not, even in these latter days, select particular seasons for the special manifestation either of his goodness or his severity.

He may not now think proper to announce this by prophecy. He may not see fit to make it clear by suspending the laws of the physical creation. But there are secret modes innumerable by which he may employ the elements of nature, or the passions of men, in the accomplishment of his designs, and this without impressing upon their agency a character approaching to miraculous. What,—says the sceptical philosopher,—has Providence to do with the infliction of a pestilence? Pestilence is nothing more than the unavoidable result, either of a certain sort of atmospheric chemistry, or of the action of peculiar circumstances and habits upon the animal frame. Its agency is, in all essential respects, similar to that of any other animal affection; and nothing can be safely concluded from the fact, that such agency is sometimes put forth upon a larger scale than it is at others. Again: Why,—says the disputer of this world,—are we to raise up our eyes and hands to heaven whenever we are affrighted by the approach of national convulsions? All national convulsions are neither more nor less than the occasional outbreak of human passions, either when goaded to madness by oppression, or when inflamed even to drunkenness by the insolence of liberty. Providence has no more concern with them, than with the ravages of the wintry flood, or the mountain torrent, or, with the fires that sweep over the expanse of an American wilderness. To all this, the Christian philosopher has one very simple reply. He will say at once, It is assuredly beyond my power to affirm or to demonstrate that the vengeance of heaven ever taints the air with poison, or deluges the earth with bloodshed. But this I know—that, without baring his right arm, the Almighty can secretly so modify all elemental combination, or so direct the career of man's blind passions, that the result shall work together for the fulfilment of his will. All this he may do, and yet without any such discernible indication as shall enable us to lay our hand on any one point in the course of events, and to say of it, the finger of God has infallibly been *here*. I likewise know that the history of the world has been repeatedly marked by calamities and vicissitudes so dreadful, that they almost irresistibly compel the sons of men to *remember themselves, and to turn to Him*. And I cannot suppress my persuasion that I am acting as becomes a sinful and dependent creature, in listening to the voice of those dreadful emergencies, and being obedient to those appalling visions. Whether or not they were expressly ordained to scourge the impiety of man, and to put down his pride, and to awaken his conscience, I cannot certainly know. But neither can I know that such purposes are at all at variance with the present scheme of his moral government. The day of miracles may, indeed, have ceased from among us; but miracu-

lous appearances are not at all essential to the reality of his special interference. In sealing up my eye or ear against the warnings administered by great public afflictions, I may, therefore, for any thing that I can be assured of, be standing unmoved in the very midst of the Lord's controversy with a rebellious people. Judgments, then, or no judgments—neither the wisdom nor the scorn of man shall keep me from the posture of penitence and supplication. It may be, that wrath hath already gone forth from the presence of the Lord. It shall, therefore, be my prayer, that mercy may go forth with it. Were all men to do this, no national calamity could ever pass over their heads without performing for them all the most important offices of a Divine judgment. It, at least, would bring their sins to their remembrance. It, at least, would recall their thoughts to the truth, that verily there is a God that judgeth the earth, and that will not look upon iniquity. And if so, it would be, to them, 'a preacher of righteousness and a minister of blessing.'

A train of thought something similar to this, might, we should imagine, easily run even through the whole private and domestic history of any sober-minded individual, without involving him in the absurdities either of fanatical terror or presumption. It might keep his eyes constantly and reverently fixed on the Supreme Disposer. It might give a sort of consecration to every domestic calamity and trial. It might enable him to read lessons of piety and resignation in every striking incident of his life: and all this without imparting to his mind the slightest tincture of superstition or mysticism. This habit, like every other habit connected with our spiritual interests, is of course eminently in need of the most jealous vigilance. It *may* betray a man into an almost pitiable extremity of credulous weakness. It *may* tempt him, as it did actually tempt Bishop Hall, to break up his whole existence into a series of providential *specialities*. But, under cautious control, it may likewise spread over his days the sunshine of a meek and contented spirit. It may disclose to him bright and benignant gleams in the most tempestuous darkness of adversity. It may enable him to hear, in every storm of affliction that passes over him, a voice which summons him to self-examination. Unhappily the whole tenor of our semi-sadducean philosophy is adverse to the cultivation of this reverential and holy feeling. The child learns from his nurse that when it thunders, Almighty God is angry. But this is loudly derided by the man, and derided with a bitterness precisely in proportion to the profoundness of his acquaintance with the principles of electricity. And yet, for ourselves, we must honestly avow, that we are far from entirely sympathizing with that wisdom which so utterly and scornfully abjures

the wisdom of the nursery! That the thunder is always the voice of Divine Wrath, is, of course, nothing more than a childish fancy. But shall the lecturers on electricity persuade us that it is *not* the voice of Divine Majesty and Power? That man is little to be envied or admired, who can witness the mighty roar and conflict of the elements, without feeling his soul brought more immediately into the presence of the Deity. Agencies are then abroad, which awfully remind us of the grandeur of Omnipotence, and of the littleness and impotency of mortals. Powers are then put forth, which sometimes, indeed, diffuse health and purity through the air, but, at others, send down havoc upon the labours and the abodes of man. All that we see and hear, then proclaims to us the measureless resources which are constantly at the command of an avenging God; and we naturally think what it is for the proud and the impenitent to fall into his hand! And hence it is that our spirits are often prostrate before the whirlwind, the tempest and the fire, even as if we knew, of a surety, that the Lord himself were in them. And why may not the same be said of those moral shocks and convulsions with which the heart of man is perpetually shaken in his journeying through this world? Why are these reverential feelings to retire and to crouch before the genius of metaphysics? Why are we, in base compliance with earth-born philosophy, to drive away all remembrance of a righteous and holy God, when the thoughts of Him are brought home to our hearts with a force little less than that of a most manifest and visible judgment?

The truth is, we are so constituted, that great events, and overpowering calamities, whether of a public or a private nature, forcibly remind us of Him to whom we are all responsible, and whose laws we all, too frequently, forget. This natural tendency may, doubtless, be degraded and depraved by ignorance or by superstition. But, nothing can wholly strangle it, save the grapple of that ruthless philosophy, which, as with the deadly and voluminous embrace of the Boa, crushes our moral nature into a mass of unseemly ruin. Let us fly from the folds of that serpentine craft, and consign this inborn propensity of our souls to the blessed tuition of Christianity. It will then be strengthened, and exalted into a salutary principle. It will become as a sort of moral palladium within us; or, rather, it will be as a species of *breastplate of judgment*, by looking upon which, we may be enabled to read aright the will of God, as manifested in every dispensation, whether of evil or of good, which may await our sinful selves, or our frail and erring brethren. The Gospel converts the fall of the Tower of Siloam, or the sacrifice polluted with guilty blood, into a lesson—not of uncharitable presumption, or abject terror—

but of holy watchfulness and contrite humiliation. It calls upon us to see in such *casualties*, (as they are termed,) an example of the punishment which is, at all times, justly due to impenitent transgression, and which, unless we likewise repent, may, at any instant, fall upon our own heads. It accordingly teaches us, that no season can be so appropriate for the cultivation of penitential feelings, as a season of heaviness and imminent peril. It enjoins us, whenever such fearful emergencies approach, to humble ourselves before God, even as we should humble ourselves if his righteous visitation were proclaimed to us by a voice from heaven.

On the doctrine of Providence, as applied to interpret the mercies or judgments which happen in this life, there are some admirable reflections in a work which we have very recently introduced to the notice of our readers.* These reflections may be found in the twenty-first letter of that publication; and we most gladly seize this opportunity of introducing an extract from it, which our limits forbade us to insert in our former Article. The views of this powerful thinker, as developed in the following passages, will be found, in our judgment, extremely useful in directing the meditations of the Christian through the intricacies of this subject.

“ God Himself, therefore, sees all we do: God deals with us in all that happens. But then He deals with us solely by means of *events*, by putting us in certain circumstances, by placing before us His works or His word, or by exciting trains of thought in our minds. These are the *events* which God supplies; this is the *language* in which He addresses us. It is our business, it is the very end of our being, to make of these events the proper improvement.

“ But to gain this end, it is plainly necessary that we interpret the events rightly.

“ As far as the interpretation of God’s *Word* goes, (taking it, as we here must do, as a very important *event* in our history, that we have that word placed before us, and in our very hands) we have very obvious principles on which to proceed. It is our plain duty to study that word honestly and attentively, and with all the helps both of reason and learning, and to apply its precepts and principles to direct and enlighten us in all the circumstances of our lives.

“ But then these circumstances themselves are also *events* of great magnitude to us, events which have great power over us, and which are all under the direction of God, and which He cannot but design that we should no less turn, than we turn Scripture itself, to our own moral and religious improvement. But the rule by which we are so to turn them is not obvious at first sight, and certainly is often much perverted and misunderstood. The true rule, as I apprehend, is to account of all events whatever as so many particular calls and excitements to consider, as in

* A Familiar Introduction to the Christian Religion, in a Series of Letters from a Father to his Son. By A Senior.

God's presence, our conduct and our ways; and, of course, to account of those events, which are in themselves the most affecting and striking, as being the most signal calls of this kind. If we meet with a deliverance, we are to make it an inducement to ask our consciences, whether we are grateful to Him who has delivered us, and prove that gratitude by obedience to His laws. If we are afflicted, we are to consider the affliction as meant as a warning to renew, and invigorate, that same obedience. If astonished or affected by any uncommon or surprising occurrence, it is intended to remind us that God is always present with us in all things, and that we ought to live as being always in His sight. We never can interpret events as having in themselves any definite import, but only that import which our own consciences urge us to draw. Deliverance does not express approbation; nor does affliction imply blame; nor does a phenomenon imply any thing but the agency of that Being by whom the commonest events of nature are regulated. All these things are to be accounted of as equally lessons of the same principle of obedience to, and dependence on God. God never tells us, except through our consciences, where we err, or what we require, although we doubtless may rely on Him to make *that appeal* to our consciences, which perfect wisdom and infinite goodness see to be best. Thus we are to regard prosperity and adversity not by any means as indications or proofs, either of God's approbation or of his disapprobation, but as an intimation from Him to examine ourselves whether *we* be disposed to those faults, or whether *we* do really practise those virtues, which are most incidental to, or most required from, both the prosperous and those in adversity. If we lose a beloved friend or relation, the loss calls on *us* to look into ourselves, and to determine whether *our* hearts are with Him who is the only sure stay of the afflicted. If we are preserved from any signal danger, *we* are called particularly to reflect on our own moral condition, or how *we* are prepared, if suddenly required, to give an account of ourselves before the tribunal of God.

"The actual event, according to this, is the instrument, in the same manner in which the circumstance of our being brought up in, or of our being taught the doctrines of Christianity is the instrument, which sets us thinking on our moral state and condition. We believe it to be an instrument kept in God's hand, and used or applied under his immediate superintendence, and with a particular view to that moral use which *we* should make of it individually."—pp. 218—220.

"Clear indications of the finger of Providence may, perhaps, be sometimes visible in some afflictions or disappointments. And we often can hardly help conjecturing, or concluding, that these afflictions or disappointments may be particularly intended as warnings to amend particular errors. But it is not to be imagined that these afflictions can ever teach us what those errors are. This must be left to meditation and conscience. The affliction is to be accounted properly as the excitement, as intended to bring these faculties of the soul into action, is to be accounted a warning, and a particular warning.—But still it is very possible for us to come to a hasty conclusion. If so, the fault is that of our own reasoning, of our own inferences.

“To this I have to add in conclusion, that few errors are more indefensible than that of supposing that God’s providence has respect only to great and striking events, or to the fortunes of eminent and perhaps favoured individuals. *To us* some events are more striking, some individuals more important than others. And the more striking any event is *to us*, the more it demands *our* religious application of it. But God seeth not as man seeth: the great and the little are alike *to Him*. His providence is equally over them all.”—*Senior’s Introduction to the Christian Religion*, pp. 224, 225.

The sum of the whole matter, then, is simply this. The Providence of God ordereth all things both in heaven and in earth: and it is a part of man’s probation to interpret the events, which his Providence ordains, to the purposes of final preparation for our appearance before his judgment seat. It is true that his way is now hidden from us. A veil of thick darkness is spread between our gaze and the march of his Omnipotence, so that we cannot presume to trace, from one moment to another, the precise direction of his *goings forth*. But although this be true, it is likewise true that, at some points of his mysterious course, the blaze of his ineffable majesty will seem, as it were, to burst through the cloudy skreen that conceals Him from us. The fiery track of his career will, at times, pierce through the surrounding darkness, and fix, for a while, the regards of men upon the splendours of his resistless progress. He will appear to look out, from the shadowy column wherein his might is tabernacled, to trouble the host of them that harden themselves against his will, and to confirm the hearts, and to renew the strength, of all who follow him in patience and submission. The chariot wheels of his power roll on, for the most part, with noiseless and steady course: and yet there are seasons, when they are whirled forward with a sound like that of thunder. His living messengers sometimes career and sail through their appointed path with a smooth and level flight; but, at other times, the rushing of their wings is like the noise of many waters—like the roar of a mighty host—yea, like the voice of the Almighty himself.* And what, then, can better become the sons of men, when the firmament over their heads is full of awful sights and astounding echoes, than—like the prophet—to fall upon their faces, and listen in reverence to the voice that speaketh unto them?

With regard to the ravings, with which the national piety is sometimes assailed, for presuming to hope that fast, or humiliation, or solemnity of any kind, can divert the march of Providence from its line, it would be a downright insult, not merely on the religion, but the commonsense, of our countrymen, to dwell upon them for a moment. They are neither more nor less than the *cant*

* Ezekiel, c. 4.

of practical atheism. If public penitential solemnities are to be proscribed, as contradictory to our sense of the irresistible majesty, and immutable wisdom of God, private prayer must for the same reason be equally open to the charge of inconsistency. But "to object to the duty of prayer, is to object to religion altogether: nay, it is to object to all forethought, all exertion, all aspiration and endeavour after what is good. If it be said of our supplications that they can no more bend the Providence of God from its course than they can bend the Sun from his path in the heavens, the same may be said of all our labours and designs: none of them can alter or affect the purposes of the Almighty. He, therefore, who laughs at the *fervent prayer of the righteous man*, may, just as reasonably, laugh at the fervent application and toil of the worldly man. Without being aware of it, he is, practically, the advocate of a desolate and miserable fatalism. If our applications to the Throne of Omnipotence are useless, all our struggles, under the appointments of Omnipotence, are useless likewise. The same philosophy which suppresses our devotion, must, in all consistency, suppress our active powers and faculties. It must either condemn us to passive and helpless despondence, or, it must teach us that we have no God but our own right hand."*

We have, in conclusion, to express our hope that every one who is anxious to keep the breath of spiritual life within him, will be on his guard against this murderous and *burking* philosophy, which is now prowling about, and which seeks to stifle "the sensible warm motion" of our moral nature, and to drag it into the dissecting-room of science; there to be finally reduced to a mere skeleton, or anatomical preparation. The agents of this villainous trade are desperate and remorseless. They are to be regarded as the veriest outlaws from all Christian sympathy—always excepting that sympathy which would labour to reclaim them. But let all be aware of walking abroad without *their loins girded and their lamps burning*. They may, otherwise, chance to find themselves, before they are aware, within the gripe of those ministers of darkness.

The work which we have placed at the head of this paper, is one among the numerous lights which have of late, been hung out to bless our steps from these nightly harms. We have no doubt that the day of national humiliation will greatly multiply the number of such useful luminaries.

* We have here ventured on the liberty of repeating a very few sentences, which we have once uttered before—(Brit. Crit. Vol. IV. p. 435)—because they appeared peculiarly applicable to the subject now under consideration

ART. VII.—*Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford.*

By the Reverend Edward Burton, D. D. Regius Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church. London : Rivingtons. Oxford : Parker. 1832. pp. 451.

THE volume now published by the Oxonian Regius Professor of Divinity, contains twenty Sermons preached before the University, between the years 1825 and 1831. They are for the most part plain and satisfactory elucidations of some of the leading points of our Faith; written with vigour and earnestness rather than with nice attention to style and diction; wholly unambitious of any subtle reasoning; and not aspiring to eloquence in more than one or two very brief paragraphs. Nevertheless, we doubt not that they have been far more practically useful than many Discourses of much higher Rhetorical pretensions issuing from the same Pulpit in which these were delivered.

The first two Sermons treat of the Evidences of Christianity; and the course of argument, in the second especially, is well adapted to the particular congregation to which it was addressed. After showing that, however much our Religion has both challenged and been exposed to acute and searching inquiry, the great mass of its followers must, notwithstanding, receive it upon prescription, Dr. Burton urges that Belief thus grounded is neither bigoted nor irrational; in fact, that it rests on precisely similar foundations to those upon which the Many build their credence in the discoveries of Science. These, when once distinctly and efficiently proved, are admitted into the capital stock, if we may so name it, of Human Knowledge; and are passed from hand to hand without a demand for the exhibition of vouchers at every new transfer. Dr. Burton then continues to remark upon the abundance rather than the scantiness of Evidence which, on his first approach to the subject, meets, and perhaps bewilders, the eye of the Student in Theology; so that it may be useful in the outset to select and exhaust some one proof, rather than to pursue a number simultaneously and imperfectly.

An inquirer into the authenticity of the New Testament, who regards it only as he would any other Book of the same date, must be struck by one very remarkable fact; namely, the integrity of its text, when compared with that of almost every other writing contemporary with it. Not one syllable penned by the eight obscure authors of the Scriptures of the New Testament, received by the Church as Canonical at the death of St. John, has been lost during the course of eighteen centuries. Yet of the Historical Works of Tacitus, half at least is wanting; out of the one hundred and forty-four Books of Livy, only thirty-five exist;

the Collections of Atticus have entirely perished; the Orations of Hortensius are known only through the allusions of his rival; and the literary fame of the great Dictator survives but in two narratives, one of which has been sometimes doubted. Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? *May it not be* the power of God which, amid this wreck of Eloquence and Learning, has preserved unmutilated, even to these latter days, the simple and unstudied compositions of the illiterate Galilæans—the impassioned but rugged addresses of the tent-maker of Cilicia?

The III^d and IVth Sermons consider the difficult question of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; that sin which, although undefined, seems in three passages of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, respectively,* to be declared irremissible, and which, therefore, by a fancied unwitting commission of it, has occasionally driven gloomy spirits into despair; which has been wielded by fiery zealots as a denunciation against *all* heinous sin, and which has been employed by Polemics as a convenient instrument of attack upon *any* imputed Heresy which has happened to be the peculiar subject of existing controversy. Athanasius insisted that it was a denial of the Divinity of Christ; and the Rhemists, in their turn also, maintained that it was the reference of the miracles of *Saints* to Diabolical agency.

Dr. Burton wisely rejects that opinion which would persuade us that the Sin (if it be considered as it has been generally interpreted, the attribution of our Saviour's miracles to the Devil) cannot now be committed by us; for surely any one who rejects the evidence of the miracles at all, whether as an eye-witness or an ear-witness, incurs nearly equal guilt, and guilt precisely of the same kind. But the denial of the miracles, says Dr. Burton, implies the denial of the divine mission of our Lord, which those miracles chiefly confirm; and therefore it excludes those who believe not in the Atonement from the benefit of the Atonement. It is not that the Sin in itself is, according to human notions, more heinous than many others which we may commit, but by its very nature it excludes the committer from the pale of mercy. "This blasphemy can never be forgiven, because the want of Faith which prompts you to utter it, shuts you out from partaking of that atonement which can alone procure forgiveness." And again:—"This blasphemy is the greatest sin which you can commit; it makes your forgiveness impossible; and you have yourselves pronounced that you will not profit by that atonement which could alone procure your pardon."

* Matt. xii. 31, 32; Mark, iii. 28; Luke, xii. 10.

This interpretation is ingenious; and something not very unlike it was hazarded by Augustin, when he maintained that if a man died in an obstinate refusal of the power of Remission intrusted to the Apostle, he might be said to sin against the Holy Ghost. To refuse that Remission was to deny the power of Christ to dispense it, and the denier of Christ's power cannot benefit by the virtue of His Sacrifice. Such also was the Final Impenitency maintained to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost by some of the Schoolmen; and the answer to that hypothesis, is we think, an answer to Dr. Burton also. The state of mind in both the finally impenitent and the pertinacious Infidel is an obstinate adherence to Sin in general, rather than the commission of any specific Sin; and surely the extreme solemnity with which our Lord *particularizes*, although he does not *define* the Sin against the Holy Ghost, sufficiently proves that he intended a *specific* Sin. The framers of our Articles in 1552 ventured to exceed their authority by a definition, which was afterwards most wisely erased by the sound-discretion of Archbishop Parker.

With Dr. Burton's qualification of the clause which declares the Sin, be it what it may, to be irremissible, we altogether coincide "When we read of such a man that he will never be forgiven, we must understand that he will never be forgiven unless he see his error." And this qualification seems to deprive the formidable menace denounced against the Sin, of all terrors with the really pious. Into a Sin so heinous, as it must be, no good man can fall ignorantly; he may not know indeed that it is the Sin against the Holy Ghost which he has committed, but he cannot fail to know that he has committed a heinous Sin, and therefore he will humbly and earnestly seek for grace in order to assist his repentance; and who in the teeth of the countless declarations of the efficiency of repentance through Faith in Christ's sacrifice, shall venture to affirm that any repentant and believing sinner will be denied pardon? We are without sufficient data to attempt the definition of this Sin, let us not add want of charity to want of knowledge, and declare that, in an absolute sense, it is irremissible.

The Vth Sermon, "Jesus Christ the Forgiver of Sins," places in a very strong light one part of our Redemption, which is too often kept wholly out of view; namely, that we have already received a large share of God's full bounty by being included within the possibility of winning Heaven; that if we entertain prospective hope we ought also to entertain retrospective gratitude; and that we should bear in mind what would certainly have been our condition if Christ had not died, no less than what may be our

condition in consequence of his death. The text of this Sermon is from Coloss. iii. 18. "Forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any, even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye"—which words give occasion to the following incidental remarks.

"The Unitarians have felt the necessity of altering the text, in order to evade the support which it gives to the doctrine of Christ's divinity. There are to be found in this passage some various readings, and some manuscripts read, not *as Christ hath forgiven you*, but *as THE LORD hath forgiven you*. The most distinguished of the Unitarian translators adopts the latter reading—*Even as the Lord freely forgave you, so also do ye*; and he prefers this reading because he interprets *the Lord* to mean *God*, and thus gets rid of the conclusion which would follow from forgiveness of sins being attributed to Christ. That there is nothing incorrect or unusual in interpreting *the Lord* to mean *God*, may readily be conceded; but this is not the sense in which the term *Lord* is interpreted by the same translator in another passage, containing a disputed reading. I allude to the well-known passage in the Acts, where St. Paul says to the Ephesian elders, *Feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood*. Here the Unitarian translator substitutes the *Lord* for *God*, and reads, *Feed the Church of the Lord, which he hath purchased with his own blood*; and the reason of his preferring this reading is, because he understands *the Lord* to mean *Christ*: whereas in the former passage he substituted *the Lord* for *Christ*, because he understood *the Lord* to mean *God*: so that in one place an argument for the divinity of Christ is to be evaded by interpreting *the Lord* to mean *God*, and in another place a similar argument is to be evaded by interpreting the same word to mean *Christ*."—pp. 102, 103.

The Intermediate State of the Soul is the subject of consideration in the VIth Sermon. Somewhat too much authority perhaps is here attributed to the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, in which it may be reasonably believed that our Lord adopted popular imagery rather than intended to inculcate any particular doctrine relative to the abode of departed Spirits. If, as Dr. Burton affirms, from the desire expressed by the Rich man to communicate with his brethren, "we are warranted, or rather we are obliged to conclude that the Souls of those who are dead exist in a state of consciousness," we must in like manner be obliged to conclude that the Blessed literally recline on Abraham's bosom and converse with the Patriarch. Now we need but turn to Tertullian, to Jerome, or to Hilary, to learn how great was the perplexity of the Fathers concerning this very Abraham's bosom, *Quicquid illud est quod illo significatur sinu*, says Augustin also; and he was a writer who seldom hesitated to decide. To descend to much more recent times, we find a commentator of no less varied learning than Grotius hesitating whether he shall understand

ἐν τοῖς κόλποις in the *bay* or in the *bosom*: that is, whether he shall receive the words as applied topographically (if we may venture upon the expression) or figuratively; to the local situation, as it would be laid down in a map of the invisible world, or to the metaphorical exaltation implied by being placed in one of the highest seats at the Supper of the Lamb.

The VIIth Sermon is on the Apostolic belief in the Atonement; the VIIIth, for Ascension Day, reminds us of Sherlock's quadripartite masterpiece on the distinct states of our Lord's existence; the finest-edged and most trenchant weapon ever raised against Socinianism. In discussing the Effect of Baptism upon Christians (IX.) the doctrine of Justification by Faith is cleared of much confusion in a very few and simple words; and this merit of briefly relieving obscurity, a merit of no common order and occurrence, is one to which Dr. Burton exhibits frequent and very powerful claims.

“If we bear in mind, that the first converts had all their sins forgiven them at baptism, and at that moment were clear in the sight of God, we can easily understand why they were said to be justified. They were not just or righteous in themselves, or with reference to their past lives: in this respect they were altogether unrighteous, and deserving of punishment: but, as St. Paul says, *they were justified freely by the grace of God*. He promised to forgive them, and to look upon them as innocent, if they would believe in Christ: they did believe; they were baptised, and were accounted righteous in the sight of God. Nor could this justification come by any other means than by faith. We will consider the case of the very first persons converted to Christianity, of those three thousand souls who were baptised at the preaching of St. Peter on the day of Pentecost. It may be conceded, perhaps, that this most extraordinary occurrence is recorded in very concise terms: the discourse of St. Peter may be delivered to us in a very abridged form: but still the transaction did not occupy more than part of one whole day. We are expressly told, that *the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls*. Now that these men could have performed any works, by which they were justified, is perfectly out of the question. Their first impression, indeed, was to ask the apostles, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* And St. Peter said to them, *Repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*. This is all that they were then required to do: and the sacred narrative immediately adds, *Then they, that gladly received his word, were baptised*. It is easy to see, that in this case repentance and faith were the only conditions required previous to baptism; and with the justification of these men, works could not possibly have any thing to do. It was because their works were evil, that they required justification: they believed in Christ; and therefore it was, that God, of his own free will, consented to pardon their offences. The case was the same with all persons who were converted and bap-

tised by the apostles: nor would justification by faith have excited so many discussions, if it had been remembered, that justification is often used by St. Paul to express the first admission into the Gospel covenant. It was then, at the time of baptism, that the heathen had all his past sins forgiven, and was allowed, through the merits of Christ, to be accounted righteous in the sight of God. At that moment nothing interposed between salvation and his soul: no stain of guilt, inherited or acquired, remained upon him: every thing was washed away, every thing was forgiven: and from the very nature of the case, works could have nothing to do with this justification. But to proceed from hence to argue, that faith alone is necessary for our final salvation, bespeaks a strange ignorance of the question, or at least a singular carelessness of language."—pp. 197—199.

We fully understand Dr. Burton's meaning, but we think perhaps he may not always be understood by those whom he addresses, when he affirms broadly that "God has a right to make Salvation depend upon the acceptance or refusal of certain Articles of Faith," and that "God has a right to give the conditions of our Salvation" (Belief in Christ Essential to Salvation.) Unless we are reminded that it is an impossibility that God should submit to our acceptance any Articles of Faith, or any conditions of Salvation, repugnant to that estimate which he has enabled us to form of Justice and Virtue—in other words, that God could not propose to us imposture or iniquity—a caviller might condemn this statement as too arbitrary.

The XIth and XIIth Sermons, on Confessions of Faith, and on the Athanasian Creed, are among the most elaborate Discourses in this volume, as it is natural to expect they would be; for, not to use the phrase with invidiousness, they partake more of the spirit of *advocacy* than any of their companions. No one who has read the Articles of our Church before he affixed his signature to them at ordination, can hesitate, unless he is prepared to take upon himself the foul stains of perjury and apostacy, in maintaining every clause of the Athanasian Creed literally and without equivocation. Nevertheless, it is one thing to justify its truth, and quite another to determine upon its expediency; and if it is a cause of offence and a stumbling-block to the weaker brethren, we do not desire to see the Athanasian Creed retained in our Service Book. Dr. Burton has expressed himself with honesty and manliness on this subject.

"If the question should be raised, whether these clauses should be retained and read publicly in our churches, we might perhaps be led by Christian humility and Christian charity to wish for their removal; but this is a very different thing from our saying and believing of the doctrines contained in the Creed, "This is the Catholic faith." We in

this place have signed the articles of our Church, which say of all the three Creeds, that 'they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture;' and I would rather part with the hand which signed them, than give up one jot or one tittle of the doctrines which are contained in the Athanasian Creed."—pp. 244, 245.

Both the above Sermons may be recommended to the student, as presenting eminently clear, distinct, and candid views of a much controverted question.

The Discourse (XIII.) on Christian Friendship exhibits Dr. Burton less as an expounder of difficulties than as a teacher of Christian Ethics; and in no other portion of his volume does he appear to more advantage. His manner of address is gentle, winning, and affectionate; and it is especially pleasing—nay, more than pleasing, it is most touching—to observe the kindly warmth with which he descends from the dignity of instructing *ex cathedrâ* to the familiarity of almost paternal admonition. We must extract his opening entire.

"It has been objected to the Gospel by those who have either openly attacked it, or who have not deeply and in their hearts considered its precepts, that it is defective as a rule of life, and that whether we view it as a moral or a political code, it takes no notice of some of the strongest principles, which act upon the mind, and which are essential to the existence of society. Thus we may hear it said, that the Bible no where inculcates patriotism as a duty, nor speaks of it as a thing which is worthy of admiration or praise. So also it has been observed, that throughout the same book no rules have been laid down for friendship; nor have any of the public and private virtues been recommended and explained with the same clearness and precision, which are to be met with in the works of heathen moralists.

"That the Bible does not contain a regular digest of ethical precepts, is a point which no one would deny: and good reasons have been given why our Lord and his apostles did not adopt that method of teaching. It might easily be shown, that when patriotism is said to be omitted in the New Testament, it is from a worldly, a narrow, a selfish view of patriotism, that such a complaint is made. Enquire of the lover of his country in former times, or enquire of the politician in our own, and the patriot is he who, though he sinks his own good in that of his country, yet places his country's good above that of all mankind. But how can a virtue such as this find a place in the same page which tells us to love all men, and to pray even for our enemies? It might easily be shown, that the true patriot is he, who makes his country great, because he makes it good; who teaches it to cast away the mean and miserable notion, that one country is to rise upon the ruins of another; who inculcates that great truth, which even human calculations are now beginning to confirm, that no community and no country can be prosperous, unless it is also the cause of prosperity to others. This was a patriotism

which the heathen never knew, but of which we may read in every page of the Gospel. So it is with friendship. It is not defined with the same accuracy; its duties are not analysed with the same minuteness; rules and directions are not given for every contingency; and yet I say with confidence, that the friendship of the Gospel is as much a higher and holier principle than that of the heathen moralist, as the souls of men are more precious than their bodies, and as eternity is longer than a moment. It is in this proportion, that the morality of the Gospel surpasses that of the Grecian or Roman sages: and it will be my object at present to offer some remarks upon friendship, considered as a Christian virtue.

“It is very far from my wish to depreciate what has been written upon this subject by the philosophers of old. Much of what they have said, might be transferred with advantage to the pages of Christian writers; and the evils of life might be smoothed, and its graces beautified, if much of it was written upon our own hearts. But when I say this, I would be understood to speak of hearts which have been trained and tutored by the precepts of the Gospel: for without this previous culture, we are dropping the good seed by the way side, or upon the barren rock. It may be doubted whether many persons have been directly benefited in their principles or their practice by rules and systems of morality. Their memories may be exercised; their reasoning powers may be improved; and if they are led to compare the heathen morality with that of the Gospel, they will not have thrown away their time or their labour. But I again say, that rules and systems, though they may exercise the head, do not go far in improving the heart. No persons would practise the precepts which are given by Aristotle or Cicero, unless they are in accordance with their own natural feelings: and if they do practise them, it is in obedience to those feelings, and not to Aristotle or Cicero. Who, I would ask, in choosing or in serving a friend, would stop to consider what these philosophers have written? or who would value the friendship of that man who, when asked for a token of affection, would give a precept of philosophy; or, when called upon to act, would consult his book instead of his heart?”—pp. 285—288.

The preacher concludes by applying himself more especially to that portion of his auditors, among whom, from their newness to life, the ties of friendship are most probably being consolidated; and powerfully and beautifully has he distinguished between those who *take sweet counsel together*, and those who carelessly receive, and perhaps sinfully invite a companion to *cast in his lot among them*.

Of the two Sermons on Christian education, the first (XIV.) was preached at an Act, and therefore is of a more sustained character than the second (XVII.), which delivered on an ordinary occasion, partakes much of the mild and benevolent tone of exhortation which we have just commended. With the XVth Sermon, on the Festivals of the Saints, we have been greatly pleased; and it owes not a little of its attraction to the very facile

manner in which Dr. Burton has introduced his rich knowledge of Ecclesiastical Antiquities. Dull must be the ears of any Petrobussian or Anabaptist, who could hear it without conviction. We do not, however, call to mind the authority which records the existence of a Service for the Circumcision in the Vth century. Indeed, from the strong antipathy expressed by Tertullian and Chrysostom against the Heathen *Feræ* on the Kalends of January; and the drunken and superstitious rites which distinguished that Season, it appears probable that the Church would be slow in permitting a commemoration which might be abused by some admixture of Paganism. Hospinian speaks of Ivo Bishop of Chartres, who flourished at the close of the XIth Century, and of St. Bernard, who dates fifty years afterwards, as the first writers with whom he is acquainted who mention the Festival of the Circumcision. Dr. Burton, we doubt not, has good grounds for his assertion, although the commonly received opinion places the institution of that Feast at so much later a period than he has assigned for its origin. In the same manner, we are ignorant of any proof which attributes the observation of a Festival of St. Michael and All Angels to the Ist Century. The legendary appearance of St. Michael at Monte Gargano, which is usually believed to have given birth to that Feast, is referred by the *Lombard History* to the Pontificate of Pelagius, which commenced in A. D. 590. By others it has been carried back a Century earlier. It is that single Holyday observed by our Church of which we could tolerate the removal; for soured indeed by the crabbed spirit of Sectarianism must be that man's judgment, which can discover scandal or superstition in any anniversary expressive of gratitude to God for having raised up Martyrs and Confessors in his Church, and which would neglect to thank him for the outpourings of grace which he has vouchsafed to shower down upon his Saints. Μετὰ Πάντων Ἀγίων μνημονεύσαντες, ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἀλλήλους, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ παραδώμεθα,—or to employ Dr. Burton's glowing peroration;

“ Our reformers having removed from our ritual the much slighter and less dangerous innovation of prayers for the dead, must have looked, with still greater horror upon the presumptuous practice of prayers to the dead. But in appointing festivals and services in honour of the apostles and martyrs, they felt that, so far from countenancing or preserving the corruptions of the Romish Church, they were only carrying on their principle of reformation, and restoring a pious and wholesome custom to its original purity. I said, at the beginning of this discourse, that the corruption of the custom had, perhaps, been the cause why we erred in the opposite extreme, and thought so little of those holy men

who fought the good fight, and finished their course amid the sufferings of the infant Church. The coldness and indifference to these forms of gratitude and devotion are so deeply seated in the minds of men in the present day, that it would be hopeless to think of exciting any livelier feelings by an appeal to primitive times, or reminding them of the blessings which we now enjoy. When human passions are roused, and the spirit of party is abroad, we are ready enough to observe days and months, and times and years : it is only when we are called to enter the house of God, and to bless him for his servants departed this life in his faith and fear, that we find the duty irksome, and look upon such celebrations as altogether useless. Happy are those persons whose piety needs no aid of times and seasons : who bless God for the early founders of our faith, not only with their lips, but with their lives ; who not only pray in the language of the Collect for the day, for grace to follow the blessed saints in all virtuous and godly living, but who show that they have studied those bright examples ; and that they have no need of human institutions to warm their devotion, or to regulate their thoughts. Such persons have no need of the remarks which have now been offered : neither are they made in the hope that, in the present state of religious feeling, the festivals of the saints will be observed by any persons with more devotion : but I wished to point out that we are not to excuse our own indifference by ascribing these observances to fabulous legends or popish superstitions. They came to us from the earliest and purest times : they were thought good and holy practices by men, who gave stronger proofs of their sincerity than any which we have given : and the founders of our own Church, who followed them as martyrs and confessors, followed them also in these grateful recollections of those who had gone before them. We believe, as our Church expresses it, that they, and all of us, are knit together in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Christ : and that all of us may hereafter be admitted to the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs, may God of his infinite mercy grant."—p. 337—9.

In the XVIth Sermon, on the Atonement, we do not perceive on what grounds it is stated that " the human body when it was first formed could not have any natural or inherent power of lasting for ever." Why could it not have possessed that power if it had pleased God to make it natural and inherent ? The position, so far as we understand it, is contradicted half a dozen lines afterwards. " An Almighty Being might have endowed it with this power at the beginning ; and if he had so willed it, the first insufflation of the breath of life might have rendered it immortal without the need of any successive communication."

Faith, the condition of the Covenant, is the theme of the XVIIIth Sermon ; the Doctrine of Sanctification that of the XIXth ; and never has the difference between the Creed of the Infidel and the Believer been stated in a more pointed sentence than in

one which occurs in the latter of these Discourses, "Where then are the mysteries of the Gospel? or, I may rather ask, where is the Simplicity of the Unbeliever's Creed? If it be asked, How shall these things be? the Philosopher is as much in the dark as ourselves. *He* clings to the mystery of Ignorance; *We* cling to the mystery of Revelation." With one other passage from that Sermon we must conclude our extracts.

"The doctrine of sanctification involves the greatest of all mysteries, the doctrine of the Trinity. You cannot consider yourselves as sanctified, *i. e.* as having received holy thoughts, without inquiring who it is that sanctifies you, or gives you these holy thoughts. The obvious answer to this question is, that it is God who sanctifies us: *every good gift*, and, therefore, the gift of holy thoughts, *is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights*. But though this answer is strictly true, we cannot read the New Testament without perceiving that the office of inspiring holy thoughts is ascribed to a specific agent: it is said to be the operation of the Holy Spirit, who is sent for this very purpose by God. Now I am far from saying that the pious and humble-minded Christian may not rest satisfied with this great Scripture truth. He will take the doctrine as he finds it revealed; and he will believe, in the plenitude of a sincere and grateful faith, that the Holy Spirit supplies him with thoughts which are pleasing to God, and which will gradually fit him for heaven. He will see no occasion to pry into the nature of that mysterious agent, whose influence he feels; but he knows that no being, created and finite like himself, can exercise that heart-searching power, which is the attribute of Deity alone. Happy is that man whose faith is satisfied with contemplations such as these. The names of such persons figure not in the page of history: they are forgotten when they sink into the grave, and it is not till the last day that their real character will be known. The page of history will disclose to you very different names from these. You will see there the leaders of parties: men who, instead of repairing the breaches of the Christian Zion, have fostered dissension within her walls, and suffered the enemy to enter in. You will read of men hating each other, because they formed different ideas of that Being who has declared himself a God of peace: you will read of blood being shed to further what is called the cause of truth: and metaphysical subtlety will be found to have deadened all the best feelings of the head and the heart."—p. 416—418.

The volume closes with an excellent practical Sermon on Christian Charity, which places in new lights some of the observations before advanced in the XIIIth Sermon. This is one of Dr. Burton's excellences, that he is able frequently to refresh impressions which he has already made, without any wearisome repetition. We thank him cordially for his volume, and trust that ere long his materials will permit him to provide us with a successor.

ART. VIII.—*Sermons preached in St. James's Chapel, Clapham, Surrey.* By the Rev. Charles Bradley, Vicar of Glasbury, Brecknockshire; and Minister of St. James's Chapel, Clapham. London: Hamilton and Co. 1831. pp. 414.

It is, perhaps, almost superfluous to criticise these Sermons. The labours of Mr. Bradley have already received that sanction from which there is no effectual appeal. We find, at the end of this volume, the announcement of a fourth edition of his Sermons preached at Glasbury, and an eighth edition of his Sermons preached at High Wycombe. This is, of all criticism, the most intelligible and the most decisive; and we have little doubt that the collection now before us will speedily receive the sanction of a similar award. It most *assuredly* will receive that sanction, if the estimate formed of it by the public at all resembles our own. We are tempted to notice it, partly by the manifestations it exhibits of that acquisition of activity and strength, which is always conferred by constant practice, wherever there is an original abundance of vigour in the mental constitution. There is often a vividness and a fire in these discourses, which speaks both of fervent zeal and powerful talent—a flame which springs up from the altar of the heart, and is fed and brightened by those supplies, which are furnished from the stores of a rich and lively understanding. There is frequently about them an exhibition of power, which is eminently fitted to enchain the attention and to exalt the affections, and, in short, to bring the whole man, with all his feelings and all his capacities, into willing captivity to the obedience of Christ.

We have often felt, and more than once expressed, the difficulty of framing anything like a critical essay out of any volume of sermons, however distinguished may be their merit. Little, after all, can be done but to furnish the reader with specimens of the composition. History, in general, ceases to be interesting the moment it ceases to be a record of crime, and convulsion, and hardy adventure, and spirit-stirring vicissitude. And even so, criticism too often ceases to be interesting, when it ceases to exhibit an exposure of incapacity, or a conflict with error, or a somewhat merciless dissection of imperfect and ill-constructed works. Such is human nature! Such, more especially, is the craving for excitement in a fastidious age, whose palate is well nigh spoiled by the prodigal and “dubious banquet” of our literary varieties. The annals of public prosperity are flat and tedious; and the critical award of commendation is, in like manner, apt to fall, languidly and monotonously, on ears which are “itching” for some more lively irritation. Now this is precisely the disadvantage of

which we are conscious, in reviewing an excellent volume of Sermons, like that of Mr. Bradley. We must, nevertheless, encounter it as we may. We must be content to furnish the reader with extracts, which, if he will but peruse them, must satisfy him that the volume is admirably adapted for his own personal edification, and also extremely well calculated for the purposes of family devotion and instruction. As for the more *interesting* portion of our task—that of censure, objection, or disagreement—we greatly fear that it will be too scanty to afford much gratification to those, who have accustomed themselves to live upon such provocations.

We begin with a most animated and impressive representation of the danger of those that have “erred and strayed” from the ways of God, taken from the second Sermon, on Luke, xv. 4, 5, 6: “Which of you having a hundred sheep,” &c. &c.

“A sheep in eastern countries, when away from the shepherd, is never safe. No animal is beset with more enemies, or exposed to greater perils. And to what are we exposed? To foes so numerous and dangers so manifold, that the mind is bewildered as it contemplates them. A soul delivered from them is one of the greatest wonders in the creation of God. It is one of the most splendid manifestations, we might almost say one of the mightiest efforts, of his omnipotence. As such St. Peter regarded it. He says of the redeemed, that they are ‘kept,’ and how? By God? By his grace and love? No; they are ‘kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation.’

“And to aggravate the dangers encompassing us, we are naturally fearless of them, unconscious perhaps of their existence; nay, we meet, we court them. A sheep straying where the lions come and the tyger roams, is a representation that does not come up to the fact. Behold that sheep running to sport by the tyger’s side, going for rest in its weariness into the lion’s hiding-place; and there is a more exact emblem of man’s danger and man’s recklessness.

“And we must add to these features of our condition yet one more—*helplessness*.

“The sheep has neither strength to overcome, courage to resist, nor swiftness to elude its enemies. Its preservation depends entirely on the shepherd’s arm and the fold’s security. And herein again it represents us and our state with fearful precision. Not that in this helplessness, considered in itself, there is any thing fearful. It is the birthright of every creature, and a birthright which he can never alienate or lose. We are all constituted at first, and we are all kept to the last, equally and completely helpless. The sheep in the fold is just as powerless as the strayed sheep on the mountains; and the highest archangel who does the bidding of Jehovah in heaven, has no more strength in his own arm than the most lost of lost men; he is no more able to satisfy his own soul than to create a world. And place even us in heaven, place us anywhere so that we are by the side of our God, and we may rejoice in our weakness. It binds us to the Holy One; it is a claim on his pity and

care, which he never disowns. But when separated from God, this weakness of our nature, a good when near him, becomes an appalling evil. There is ruin in it. 'Every one that findeth me,' said the wretched Cain, 'shall slay me;' and we may say the same of all the perils that beset us. Left to ourselves, we have neither the power nor the will to escape them. Assault is the same as defeat; temptation is another word for sin; and danger another name for destruction.

"This is our condition, brethren; and in this condition, and in all the need, peril and weakness of it, every redeemed spirit was once involved. The parable places him in the midst of its wretchedness, and then goes on to tell us how he was extricated."—pp. 23—25.

In spite of a *little* tendency to exaggeration, this, on the whole, appears to us admirable. The peril of the helpless creature, more especially—not merely straying where the beasts of prey are on the prowl, but actually sporting by their side, or seeking rest in their dens—is here represented in a manner both just and forcible, and to us, we confess, *original*. The effect of the whole of the discourse is excellent. If we have any fault to find, it is that there is too fanciful and laboured an application of every minute circumstance in the parable. First the shepherd *misses* his sheep—then he *seeks* it—then he *finds* it—then he *lays it on his shoulder*—then he *bears it home*: every one of these particulars is seized upon by the preacher, and appropriated to the purposes of his exposition, with just as much confidence, as if it were quite clear that they were introduced into the allegory, by our Lord himself, with an express view to such an application. There is much ingenuity in this; but we are always haunted by misgivings, when we find the subordinate adjuncts and accompaniments of a parable *compelled to come in*, and join in the work of spiritual edification. In our humble judgment, the chief office of such varied circumstances is to heighten the general effect of the picture, and to give it a more powerful command over the attention of a miscellaneous, though, for the most part, a simple auditory; and the grand effect of the whole is apt to be weakened and dissipated by too much attention to them, in unfolding the general scope of the instruction to be conveyed. Neither similes nor parables were ever intended to run on *all their legs* alike; and awkwardness and constraint are frequently the only result of the attempt. It is impossible, of course, to say too much, or to think too gratefully, of the care, the affection, or the vigilance of the Shepherd. But the grand point to be illustrated is, in this instance, the tenderness of the Redeemer towards reclaimed sinners, and the hatefulness of that austere self-righteousness which scowls upon the hopes of the returning penitent. Nevertheless, as we have already intimated, the Sermon is, on the whole, impressive and heart-stirring in no ordinary degree.

There is a very noble Sermon, the sixth, on the Star of Bethlehem, liable, perhaps, in some *slight* measure, to a similar charge of overstrained application, but still most profoundly interesting. The following is a glorious exhibition of the mysterious combination of majesty and humility in the person of the Son of God:—

“ This star exhibits to us also *the greatness of God*. It says that *he often puts much honour on Christ by the means which he makes use of to lead sinners to him*.

“ In the first instance, like these wise men, we are generally led to the Lord Jesus as an abased Saviour; as One sustaining a character which harmonizes much better with the manger and the cross than with the crown or the throne. We look on him as the ‘despised and rejected’ Son of man; the mind contemplates him as wounded and bruised, crucified and slain, ‘redeeming us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.’ But yet, in some way or other, the greatness of Christ generally bursts out amidst this degradation. No angel comes down from above to tell us that he is the Lord, no new star shines forth in the heavens to declare his glory; but God so orders the means of our conviction; employs such instruments to enlighten, convert and subdue us; and makes his hand so visible in every part of that blessed work which he accomplishes by them in our hearts, that a man at noonday might as well doubt whether the sun has risen, as a sinner draw near to Jesus of Nazareth, and not see in him an honour that is divine. His glory and his Father’s are displayed together; displayed, not merely by the grace they impart and the wonderful salvation they bestow, but as plainly, if not as brightly, by the means that have taught us our need of that grace, by the way a God of wisdom has chosen to make that salvation our own. Look at these philosophers amid their mountains of the east. A messenger from Bethlehem might have brought them to Jesus; a report of his birth would have soon prostrated them at his feet; but no, The Son of the Highest is lying in a manger, the King of glory is despised on the earth he is born to save; the heavens above him, therefore, shall proclaim his majesty, inanimate nature shall bear witness to her Lord. At his Father’s bidding an unknown star places these Gentiles by his side, and testifies to an astonished world his hidden greatness.—pp. 120—122.

It surely must be impossible for any one, not besotted with the most degrading spirit of worldly infatuation, to peruse the following passage, without feeling, for the time at least, an irresistible conviction of the dignity of the human soul, and of the bright destiny which must await it, unless it inflicts an insane forfeiture and disherison upon itself. Let those, who are contentedly feeding on the sordid meals of this low house of bondage, contemplate here the glories of the land of promise and of triumph, and be ashamed of their base and *earthly* satisfaction. The preacher speaks to them of the Church in its celestial purity; and who

can hear him without feeling his heart burn with desire to be among that blessed company?

“And now at last we are come to its third and final state. The view which the apostle takes of this, may appear to some of us low and but little attractive. It may seem to be saying nothing, to say of heaven, the soul is without sin, without spot or blemish, there. But the man who has once felt the misery of a polluted nature, will think differently. He will feel as he reads this text, ‘Here is the blessing my heart aches for. This is the heaven in which I long to be—a holy world; a world where I can be tempted no more, and sin no more; where I can breathe an atmosphere that is not tainted, and breathe it without ever tainting it; where I may rest from the conflict that now wearies my inmost soul, cast away all watchfulness and fear, give the desires of my heart their widest and fondest range, and yet never wound my spirit nor offend my God.’

“How highly Saint Paul himself estimated this heavenly purity, we may infer from his dwelling so much on the idea of it in this place. He mentions it, and then he repeats the mention of it, and then, not satisfied, he repeats it again; heaping up words as though he found words too poor to describe it, too weak to come up even to his conceptions of its blessedness. The church is first ‘sanctified and cleansed;’ then it is ‘without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing;’ and at last it is ‘holy and without blemish.’

“All these expressions convey nearly the same meaning. ‘Spots’ impair the moral beauty of the church;—they consequently shall be cleansed away. ‘Wrinkles’ are signs of decay, and feebleness, and suffering;—not one of them shall be left. The soul shall wake up in immortal youth; vigorous as well as pure; with every power in full activity, able to execute the commands of Jehovah, to enter into his joy, to stand before his throne, and to serve him in his temple. ‘Blemishes’ are defects. In our present state, we are wanting in every thing. In heaven, every defect shall be supplied; nothing shall be missing in us, which can bring glory to our Redeemer or happiness to ourselves. Taken together, the words convey this idea, that the church, in its future state, shall be free from sin and from all the consequences of sin. No remnant, or effect, or stain, or trace, of the accursed thing shall be left on it. It shall be as pure as though sin had never come near it; still indeed bearing the marks of the process it has undergone, still testifying to a wondering universe of saving mercy and renewing grace, but shewing forth these operations of its God, not by the incompleteness of his work, but by the elevation to which he has raised it, the depth of its humility, and the fervour of its songs.

“But there are different standards of purity, and some of us may be ready to ask, ‘According to what standard is the future holiness of the redeemed to be measured? In whose estimation will it be complete?’ O the riches of Jehovah’s goodness, and O the power of Jehovah’s Spirit! It will be complete in his estimation, in whose sight his own ‘heavens are not clean,’ and who ‘charges his very angels with folly.’ To be sinless in our own estimation would be nothing; thousands of the

ungodly have attained to this even on this wicked earth: to be deemed pure by our fellow-sinners would still be nothing: to stand spotless in the sight of angels might satisfy an angel's mind; but the purity of the ransomed spirit will soar high above all this. It will be faultless in his presence, who sees things as they are; 'to whom all hearts are open and from whom no secrets are hid;' and faultless not when viewed by him at a distance, but brought into his immediate presence, placed as it were in comparison with him, in the full blaze of his glory. Is this language too strong? The Holy Spirit has employed language like it. 'Now unto him,' says Saint Jude, 'that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless'—where! 'before the presence of his glory; to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever.'"—pp. 157—160.

Our next extract shall be from the discourse on our risen Lord questioning the love of Peter.

"2. We may infer again that *Christ has now a special claim on our love.*

"Previously to his final sufferings and death, he does not appear to have ever questioned any of his disciples as to the state of their affections towards himself. Tender as was his heart, his main concern seems to have been that they might be obedient to his Father, and at peace among themselves. But when for their sakes he had gone to Golgotha and Calvary, when he had bled in the garden, and expired on the cross, and laid himself down in the grave, he felt and acted like one who had now earned a claim on a sinner's affection, and such a claim as even a sinner's heart, in all its death-like coldness, could not resist. He comes out of the tomb, he shews the weeping Peter his hands and his side, and then he says to him, and he says the same to every one of us who have heard of his agony and cross, 'Lovest thou me?'

"We have been told however that all this is degrading; that such a love for Christ, as is grounded on any thing that he has done or suffered for us, is base; that the only affection he will accept, is that which takes its rise from admiration of his excellencies, the attractions of his human nature and the glories of his divine. But what will not men say when they have a theory to uphold, or a conceit to adorn? The wisest of them can argue readily against his own experience, and dispute against the plainest facts. What can these reasoners know of their own hearts? We feel at once that they know nothing of ours. They are more fit to talk to adoring seraphs than to men like ourselves. True, the blessed Jesus is 'altogether lovely,' 'fairer than the children of men' or the angels of God. But what then? All the blaze of glory with which our imaginations can surround him; all the moral beauty in which a mind the most soaring and refined, can invest him; the power that awes, and the greatness that overwhelms; the patience that never wearies, and the compassion that never fails; the goodness that makes us wonder; and the holiness that makes heaven thrill;—all this does not come home to a sinner's heart like the sorrow at Gethsemane, and the dying groan on the cross. We can say with the worshipping hosts above us, and almost

tremble as we say it, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty!' but if we want a song that will call forth every power of our souls, and bring into action every feeling of our hearts, we must take up the language of the ransomed Paul, 'He loved us and gave himself for us.'

"Place the cross in what light we may, there is no exaggerating of its importance or its power. As the basis of love, nothing even in heaven is like it. In the very presence of Christ, in the full splendour of his glory and all the unveiled brightness of his perfections, they that see him as he is, ground on it their warmest affections and their loudest praise. It is still, in their estimation, the Redeemer's highest claim on them; it constitutes his noblest worth. 'Worthy,' they cry, 'is the Lamb that was slain to receive honour, and glory, and blessing.' Death has not silenced the song they loved on earth; the glories of heaven have not changed it. They said then, 'Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, to him be glory and dominion.' They say now, 'Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.' 'Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.'"—pp. 195—198.

We are sometimes doomed to hear a vast deal of sublime rhetoric on the *pure and lofty disinterestedness* of all genuine virtue. How this sort of philosophy can stand before such appeals as the above, we are utterly unable, and perhaps unworthy, to comprehend. For ourselves, we are not ashamed to confess, that we are unable to listen to such words as these, without feeling our pulse flutter, and the water well nigh starting to our eyes. And, as for them that may hold us in derision for this avowal, we heartily wish them nothing worse than a participation in our weakness.

The 11th is a very striking Sermon on the Plague in the Wilderness, Numbers, xvi. 8. It contains a forcible, and on the whole, we think, a legitimate application of the zeal of Aaron, when standing between the living and the dead, to the purpose of illustrating the great scheme of Mediation. Speaking of the self-devotion of the High Priest, rushing into the midst of the perishing multitude, for their preservation, the preacher exclaims:—

"What an example for ministers of the Gospel! What a reproof of our coldness of heart, and love of ease, and despicable self-indulgence! Pray for us, brethren, that we may resemble this Aaron; that we may catch something of the self-denial and ardour of this devoted priest. But still, we may ask, what was he? When compared with his heavenly Master, he was nothing. We must again look higher; we must again look through Aaron to Aaron's Lord.

"There is a pestilence raging in our world, a widely spread and deadly pestilence; the most tremendous evil the creation knows, fatal alike to the body and the soul. None in the world has escaped it; none in the world can stay, or cure, or even ameliorate it. Heaven has accordingly come to our relief. A stupendous scheme of deliverance was

formed there in our behalf; a scheme whereby Jehovah's honour and our salvation were made to meet, the Lawgiver magnified, and yet the submissive transgressor rescued. Now whence did this scheme originate? In precisely the same feeling that placed the Jewish high priest between the dead and living—in compassion, in love, in pure benevolence. There was nothing in man that merited it; nothing in the nature of things that led one step towards it; nothing in the circumstances in which God was placed, or the character which God sustained, that demanded it. It sprang, in all its amazing glory, out of the depths of the divine love, startling the universe with its unlooked for and unparalleled grace.

“And how did he who was destined to carry this scheme into effect, execute his strange commission? It involved on his part, not condescension only, not danger merely; but degradation and suffering such as never before had been thought of, and a death so beset with terrors, that the guiltiest sinner that ever died, knows not their fearfulness. Yet look into the records of his life. We see there no backwardness to enter on his work, no timidity or shrinking in carrying it on. ‘Lo, I come,’ he says, ‘to do thy will, O God;’ and then he descends from the realms of glory to this abode of vileness, from a happy heaven to a wretched earth, with greater readiness than ever monarch stepped up to his throne. He enters fearlessly the polluted and dying camp; he mingles almost joyfully among the stricken thousands; and when there, he utters no complaint, he breathes no sigh for his own pure and glorious kingdom. ‘My meat,’ he says, and says it in a sinner’s form in a sinner’s world, ‘my refreshment and my joy, is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.’ He speaks of himself as ‘straitened till it should be accomplished.’ And when the hour of his final agony approached, O what a triumph of constancy and love was there! We cannot understand it. We see enough in him at Gethsemane to discover that the travail of his soul could have exhausted the strength and patience of all the hosts of angels; we see enough of him on the cross to assure us that nothing could overcome his. But his love ‘passeth knowledge.’ It was the spring of all he did and all he suffered. These, in their extent and importance, go far beyond our comprehension, and we can say no more of the feeling that prompted them, than that it is, like himself, unfathomable; as much above the love of mortals as the highest heavens are above the earth.”—pp. 227—230.

The thirteenth is a very beautiful and affecting discourse on “the peace of God keeping the heart.” We have room only for a single extract.

“A peace thus divine in its origin must partake in some degree of the lofty nature of its Author, and in that degree it must be incomprehensible to any earthly mind. The apostle accordingly goes on to describe, thirdly, *this property of it*. ‘It passeth,’ he says, ‘all understanding.’

“We may attach two meanings to this language.

“1. *This peace passes altogether the understanding of such as are strangers to it*. They who have never experienced it, know nothing of

its character, nor can they. It is above them; in its very nature it is out of their reach. Not that there is in it anything visionary or enthusiastic. No; it is real, it is solid, it is rational; so rational, so well founded, that the wonder is any pardoned sinner should be for one moment destitute of it; so rational, that no other peace will bear thought, and reflection, and examination, like it; there is no other peace that will bear serious reflection at all. But then it is not so much the intellect that is occupied about it as the heart. It is a matter, not of science, but experience. It must be felt to be understood.

"And this is not a peculiarity confined to this or any other spiritual blessing. It is common, perhaps, to every pleasure we know. The man of intellect, for instance, may talk of the delight he experiences in the workings of his mind, in his acquisition of knowledge, in his discoveries of truth, the soarings of his imagination, the conscious expanding of his soul; but his words convey no distinct idea of these things to his ignorant neighbour; they excite only his wonder. We may tell the deaf man again of the harmonies of music, or we may discourse to the blind man of the beauty of this heaven-built world; we may reason clearly and eloquently about them; but what has our reasoning done? It has done nothing. The blind man knows no more of the rainbow's splendor, or the landscape's richness, or the heaven's glory, than he knew before; the deaf man is as much a stranger to music and its powers. Just so is it with this peace of God. A knowledge of it is not to be gained by speculation. If we want to comprehend it, we must seek it, we must acquire it, we must enjoy it. In the strong language of the Apostle, we must 'taste of the heavenly gift;' we must 'taste the good word of God and the powers of the world to come.' Our religion must be more than a form or a creed; it must be a work in the heart.

"2. And even then this peace will still 'pass all understanding;' for *they who enjoy it the most cannot fully comprehend it*. It is a mystery to the man who possesses it. He is sensible of its existence; he finds his heart quieted, and filled, and purified by it; he sees and delights in its effects, and he can give us a plain, intelligible account of them; but how did it come into his heart? How is it kept there? Why is it gladdening his soul, while the souls of others are fainting within them for the want of it? Why is it at times so unspeakably sweet, so amazingly strong? To what height of blessedness can it rise? These are questions to which he can give no distinct reply. All he can say is, 'the peace of God passeth all understanding.' And perhaps an inhabitant of heaven could say no more. The peace implanted in a pardoned sinner's heart may pass even an angel's comprehension. It is 'the peace of God,' it is 'the joy of the Lord;' his own peace, his own joy, and none but his own infinite mind can fully understand its nature and extent. We may all, however, comprehend its effects."—pp. 266—268.

And then the preacher proceeds to describe those effects; but we must refer the reader to the volume itself for his exposition of them, and hasten to one brief and powerful passage, with which the last of these discourses is closed. After having considered,

and spiritually applied, the miracle of feeding the multitude in the wilderness, the author concludes with the following exclamation:—

“O the glory of that Being who is the sinner's refuge and hope! What an amazing power to bless is there in him! What an inexhaustible, infinite fulness! To be fainting with want, to be starving and perishing, while such a Being says, ‘I am the bread of life;’—if you have never wondered before, go away and deem yourselves now the greatest wonders in the world. A happy, redeemed sinner in heaven makes all heaven marvel; but a sinner starving on earth, with such a Saviour near him as Jesus Christ—a man destitute of the food his soul needs in a Christian country and in a Christian Church, with the tidings of the Gospel sounding in his ears and the blessings of the Gospel waiting his acceptance—there is no wonder greater, none half so awful. And yet some of us must say, ‘That wonder am I; that creature starving in the midst of plenty; carrying about an empty soul without a wish to have it filled; never once asking mercy for it, and trampling every moment on the food that would save and satisfy it—that wonder am I.’ And what will be the end of it all? Prayer or ruin; conversion, a mighty change within, or death; an awakened, renewed, supplicating, abased soul here, or a starved soul, a lost soul, for ever.”—pp. 413—414.

We have hinted above that the author has, in the instance there alluded to, been a little seduced by his anxiety to turn, not only every sentence, but every image, and every circumstance, in Scripture, to spiritual account. We fancy that we can perceive symptoms of the same tendency in some other parts of his volume. For instance—in the XIVth Sermon, on the cities of Refuge, there is more of this disposition to refine and spiritualize than we can altogether confidently approve. Again, there is much that is striking and useful in the XVth Sermon, on the words, *teach us to pray*—but there is little of it that appears to be very naturally suggested by the words themselves, which merely indicate on the part of the disciples, a wish to be instructed in the proper topics of prayer. The text, in this instance, is, really, little more than a motto for the Sermon. Once more—in one of the earlier Sermons, there appears to us to be some overstrained speculation on the absence of Thomas, when our Lord appeared among the assembled Apostles, on the first day of the week after his crucifixion. His absence, in all probability, was purely accidental. At all events, the occurrence is one respecting the causes of which we are so utterly uninformed, that it is hardly judicious to make it the basis of exhortation or reproof. Mr. Bradley appears to think otherwise; for he raises out of this circumstance, a solemn warning against the perils of neglecting or undervaluing Christian communion!—Lastly, we

are not quite satisfied that there is not something fanciful and unsubstantial in the difference which he discerns between the demeanour of our Lord towards Mary, and towards Thomas. These matters, however, are scarcely worth dwelling upon minutely, where there is so much to approve. We could not, however, forbear a transient allusion to them; since it affords us an opportunity of respectfully recalling the attention, not only of Mr. Bradley, but of all other preachers, to the inestimable advice of Bacon, who recommends all divines to be content with the *first crush* of the divine clusters, rather than to press and wring them out, till the natural sweetness and *sincerity* of their flavour is lost, and they somehow contract, under the violence, a relish foreign to their nature,—a savour not altogether celestial—a taste which has been communicated to them by the earthly process and handling they have undergone. The wine-press should be trodden, diligently, no doubt, but cautiously and gently. We are satisfied, that an inattention to the wisdom which dictated this admonition, has filled the realms of theology with a multitude of idle fancies; or, to return to the original figure, that it has frequently tainted the purity of the draught, which is to administer health and life unto our souls. We are, also, quite confident that Mr. Bradley will forgive us for expressing freely our persuasion on this subject, and that he will believe us when we add, that we do so without the slightest intention to cast disparagement on his truly valuable labours.

One word more.—In p. 107, Mr. B. asks, “What do men mean when they say, that the mere sprinkling of water can reach our earthly minds, and regenerate us?”—Aye—what indeed! But who are they that venture on any such assertion? Most assuredly not the sound members of the Church of England; for they are taught by her, that the Spirit of God is present to sanctify the water to the mystical washing away of sin; and that all who are brought to the laver of regeneration, then receive what, by natural birth, they cannot have; although we confess and deeply lament that, in a vast multitude of instances, the heavenly gift, then bestowed, appears to be despised, neglected, and lost!

ART. IX.—*Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn.*
By Edward Maltby, D.D. F.R.S. F.S.A., Preacher to the
Learned and Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, now Bishop
of Chichester. London: Rivingtons. 1831. pp. 402.

THE present Bishop of Chichester commenced his ministerial duties in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn in April, 1823; and the volume which he has now published contains seven-and-twenty Sermons, selected from the different courses preached between that time and January 30, 1831. The congregation—a word which we are sufficiently old-fashioned to prefer to the *spectacular* term “audience,” substituted for it throughout the pages before us—the congregation to which these Sermons was delivered, is no doubt the most *elite* in England; and it may be supposed, therefore, that a *selection* from Discourses presented to it, even when, as in the present instance, they were not composed for publication, must have been elaborated with the utmost skill possessed by its author. Bearing this fact in mind, and weighing also within ourselves the acknowledged great talents and acquirements of the Bishop of Chichester, it is not without considerable diffidence and misgiving that we hazard any comments on his volume.

The very nature of the congregation at Lincoln's Inn, as we have above described it, offers, nevertheless, in one sense, unusual facilities to a Preacher ripely prepared for his task. In addressing the mixed assembly which is gathered together in a large Parochial Church, the great and obvious difficulty which a Clergyman has to encounter, is so to pitch his discourse that it may be accommodated to every grade of intellect in his flock—to high and low—to rich and poor; that he may convey edification to the ignorant and unlettered without offending the fastidiousness of the cultivated; that, as we once heard it expressed *à la militaire*, he may neither fire over the heads, nor let his volley fall short of the feet of his hearers. This danger, if escaped any where, must be so in the Pulpit of one of our Inns of Court; in which a Scholar, a Divine, a Logician and an Orator perceives himself surrounded by listeners, almost all of whom are conversant, more or less, with general Literature, Theology, Ratiocination, and Eloquence. Here then, to return to our former metaphor, the Preacher has no occasion to shoot otherwise than point-blank and on his own level; and if he possesses sufficient weight of metal, and judgment adequate to regulate the proportions of his charge, he will be pretty sure, in most cases, to hit his mark.

One of the first things, however, which strike us in the perusal of these Sermons, is the great variety of styles in which they are written; as if their author had been long before he could deter-

mine in his own mind what *manner* was best suited to his hearers. There is so much greater ease and flexibility in the later Sermons than in those at the commencement, that the constraint which marks some of the former may probably be attributed to novelty of situation. We will take, for instance, a few words which form the exordium of the IVth Sermon, "Against immoderate love of the World."

"Of the world, implying its possessions and honours, its occupations and pleasures, as well as its cares and disappointments, it is by no means a subject of wonder that they who are connected with it should entertain different ideas; that such difference should occasionally run into extremes; but that the prevailing opinion should be in its favour, and lead the majority of men to pursue its seeming advantages with unwise and unseasonable ardour."—p. 30.

No one can doubt that the peculiarity of arrangement in the above sentences is the result of choice and design; that the mode of construction is premeditated, deliberate, and regulated on principle. May we, therefore, venture to confess, that to our ears their unusual inversion partakes of hardness and obscurity.

So also occasionally in the earlier Sermons, we meet with some interpretations, which, however ingenious, may be considered, perhaps, a little too subtle and refined. That given below, of part of the 5th and 6th verses of the CXXVIth Psalm, is not original, but the Bishop, by borrowing it from Hammond, has given it his authority.

"*They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.*"

"This is one of those allusions to rural scenery, and the labours of the field, which abound in Scripture, and which not only render the lessons and the truths contained in it more intelligible, but give them an additional hold upon our minds, from the beauty and usefulness, as well as familiarity, of the objects to which they refer. What argument, for instance, can illustrate more strongly, yet more agreeably, the providential care of our Almighty Father, than the following? 'Behold the fowls of the air, for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?' What can set forth more clearly the vanity of human pursuits, and the insufficiency of worldly advantages, than the comparison instituted by St. James? 'Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted; but the rich, in that he is made low: because, as the flower of the grass, he shall pass away. For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat, but it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his ways.' Again; what can be more striking, and even conclusive, than the reply of the Apostle to the doubts or cavils of him

who scrupled to admit the doctrine of the resurrection of the body? 'Thou fool,' (or rather, 'Thou inconsiderate man!') 'that which thou sowest, is not quickened, except it die; and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body.'

"I have selected these passages, not only for the purpose of showing the pleasing and familiar manner in which the language of Scripture is accommodated to the capacity and feelings of mankind, but because, in the moral and religious truths which they inculcate, they confirm the doctrine of the text. The providential care of God for His creatures; the vanity and instability of earthly good; and the glorious certainty of a state of future retribution, are truths connected with that declaration of the Psalmist, which I have selected for the words of my text:— 'They, that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.'

"Before, however, I enlarge upon the particular doctrine conveyed by these words, I shall make a few observations upon the Psalm itself, and upon one or two passages in it, that are not so clearly translated. There seems to be little doubt that the Psalm was written when the first portion of the Jewish captives returned with Esdras or Ezra; and it was probably written by him, or by some inspired contemporary. 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, then were we like unto them that *dream*.' The words 'that dream' would be translated better, 'they that are recovered to health.' The time of captivity, during which they suffered great hardships, is compared to a state of sickness; but that of their return, to a restoration unto perfect health. Again, in the fourth verse we read, 'Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams *in the South*.' That is; 'as to those of our brethren, who yet remain behind in a foreign land, do thou, Lord, be pleased to hasten their delivery. That mercy will come as seasonable to them as water to the most parched dry soil,' such as the countries *south* of Judea. Then follows the text, again applying itself to those still in captivity: 'They, that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.' 'This thou wilt do in thy good time; vouchsafe to give *them*, as thou hast done unto us, a joyful return, after so sad a time of captivity.' The concluding verse may be thus paraphrased: 'The poor man that carries out his handful of seed, (and looks upon it with some sadness, as a melancholy thing to cast that away to rot in the earth, which cost him so much labour to get into his granary; to bury that in the clods, which was prepared for his sustenance, and so takes his leave of it with wet eyes, sending his tears and prayers after it,) cannot be more joyed to bring home in time of harvest full loads of sheaves into his barn, as the reward from heaven of his faith and patience, than those of our brethren who now linger in bondage will be to rejoin us in the land of our fathers, when they shall experience such an happy return from God to all the prayers and tears which they have long poured out to him.' "—pp. 43—46.

This paraphrase appears to us as very forced and wild. Some Commentators, however, have gone yet farther, and from the word מִשְׁכָּן, which our version renders *precious*, have explained the hus-

bandman's tears, as arising *propter annonæ caritatem*, as if the market price of seed were exorbitant. Hammond discreetly rejects this notion; but we doubt whether that which he adopts be more in accordance with the meaning of David. He considers the seed to be called "pretious" because it is sown in small quantities, such as are *easily drawn*, taking the radix מִשָּׁךְ in its sense *traxit*. But it may be asked why מִשָּׁךְ may not be rendered in its primary sense of *saccus ex corio*, equally referable to מִשָּׁךְ *detrahit*? in which case it is merely seed sown from the sack or pocket; sown, no doubt, in small quantity when compared with its future produce. It appears to us that the tears of the husbandman may be assigned, far more naturally, and without the slightest violence, to the toil which he undergoes in sowing, rather than to Hammond's fanciful, and, it may be added, somewhat foolish and fantastical sentimentality of regret for the grain, which the husbandman, while he is scattering it, entertains reasonable hope may produce, some sixty, some a hundred-fold; and over the loss of which, preparatory to so great increase, he is not very likely, therefore, to pour out unnecessary tears. The season in which he tills the ground is proverbially one of grief, pain, toil and labour; to *eat of the ground in sorrow* is part of the primal curse on our first Parent; and we cannot but believe that tears so shed were the only tears to which the Psalmist intended allusion.

The seven Sermons from the XIth to the XVIIth inclusive, are a portion of nineteen, explanatory of the *Epistle to the Romans*; and they may, perhaps, be thought to involve matter which could not readily be followed as it dropped from the lips of the Preacher, even by a congregation so intelligent as that to which it was addressed. We cordially rejoice, therefore, to see these Sermons in print; and we think their learned Author would be doing essential service to that Truth which he has in this instance advocated with so much vigour and acuteness, if he were to recast the whole course into a *Dissertation* or a *Commentary*, or any other form which his better judgment may prefer, and present it entire to the Public.

If we do not altogether assent to the following exposition of a very difficult text, it is impossible not to express admiration of the learning and sagacity with which it is handled. The passage occurs in the XVIth Sermon, "On the measure of Faith and limit of vengeance."

"Let us now turn to an expression in the concluding part of this chapter, which has been thought to contain matter of more serious difficulty, because it affects a lesson of practice. I will shortly state what the difficulty is; lay before you a very ingenious, but not quite

satisfactory, solution that has been proposed ; and then offer to your consideration my own view of the subject.

“ The whole passage is as follows: ‘ Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath : for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink : for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.’

“ The question here is, What is meant by, *heaping coals of fire on his head* ? The general notion is, that it means bringing down the Divine vengeance upon an enemy's head. ‘ You shall aggravate his condemnation, and subject him to a heavier load of wrath, if he doth not repent.’ But some good and learned men conceive, that the bare suggestion of such a motive is inconsistent with the pure and benevolent principles of the Gospel. They argue thus : ‘ Is not this directing us to do good with a malicious intent ? And how is it consistent with the advice the Apostle is here pressing upon us ? It will not remove the difficulty to allege, that he does not mean we should do good to an enemy with an *intent* to bring down the vengeance of God upon him : but only shews, that this will be the *event*, if he persist in his unjust enmity. Supposing however the Apostle *not* to mean, we are to do an enemy good with an *intention* of subjecting him to the heavier wrath of God ; yet it is evident, he must advise us to be beneficent, with the *expectation* of bringing down upon our enemy's head the severest vengeance, even by our beneficence. Which surely is a thought ill connected with Christian goodness.’

“ Those, who argue in this manner, have sought eagerly for a milder interpretation. They conjecture that ‘ the phrase of *heaping coals of fire on his head* is taken from melting metals in a crucible ; for, when they melt gold or silver in that manner, they do not only put fire under and round all the sides, but also heap coals upon the head of the crucible and so melt the metal. In allusion to this, Christians are to *heap coals of fire* (acts of kindness and beneficence) upon the head of an enemy ; and so melt down his obstinacy, bring him to temper, and overcome his evil by their good.’

“ This is certainly a plausible and ingenious solution ; and for a time I was disposed to adopt it. But, upon further consideration, I am persuaded that this mild interpretation cannot be sustained, if we give proper weight to the customary usage of words in the Sacred Writings ; to their acceptation among other Jews ; to the meaning of the passages from which the words are undoubtedly borrowed ; and even the context of this very precept.

“ First ; I believe it is admitted that ‘ the phrase *heaping coals of fire* always denotes, in the Old Testament, infliction of punishment from the Almighty.’ Next, the phrase is similarly used in the Talmud, and in the Second Book of Esdras ; which I have already mentioned to you as illustrating the language of the New Testament, although unfortunately it is not extant in Hellenistic Greek. The passage is this : ‘ Let not the sinner say, that he hath *not* sinned : for God shall *burn coals of fire* upon *his* head, which saith before the Lord God and His

glory, I have not sinned.' Thirdly, the original precept stands in the Book of Proverbs. 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink: for thou shalt heap coals of fire upon *his* head, and the Lord shall reward *thee*.' If we compare these verses with verses 17, 18 of the preceding chapter, it will be evident, that the milder interpretation cannot, by any rule of sound criticism, be sustained. "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth: lest the Lord see it, and it displease him, and he turn away his wrath from him."

"Lastly, I am unable to perceive that any other interpretation suits the general spirit of the passage, except that, which at the first glance no doubt does appear harsh and inconsistent with the mild genius of Christianity. Yet the clause, so much objected to, conveys nearly the same sense, only perhaps in more strong and direct terms, with that which immediately precedes. 'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath;' (that is, as usually interpreted, 'the wrath of God;') 'for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.'

The principle surely of both precepts is the same; 'Do not inflict punishment, or wreak any vengeance upon any one, who has injured you; but leave him in the hands of Him, who alone knows the extent of human transgression, and alone can adapt his punishment in exact proportion to it. If, instead of any thoughts of vengeance, you do him any act of kindness, then his punishment will needs be increased; if indeed your goodness shall not have the effect of overcoming the evil of his disposition.' I think this saving clause may fairly be inferred from the concluding verse of the chapter, 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' If this reasoning be allowed to be just, surely our doubt about the real meaning and even correctness of the passage in question, will at once vanish. Nor will it be difficult to conjecture the reasons, for which the Apostle proceeded, in so cautious and circuitous a way, to enforce the Christian precept of abstaining from revenge, and rather doing good, than evil, to an enemy. It must be allowed that of all the moral lessons, inculcated by our holy and benevolent religion, this is the hardest for our corrupt nature to comply with. But it was peculiarly hard and offensive to the Gentile converts, with whom vengeance upon an enemy was considered not only desirable, but even laudable. Nay, the conduct of the Jews sufficiently shewed, that, although the real spirit of their religion prescribed a different conduct, they were by no means behind their Gentile brethren in the love and practice of revenge. St. Paul *might* think that, if he broadly, and without any qualification, enjoined not merely the forgiveness of injuries, but acts of kindness to an enemy, the precept would appear so repulsive, as to disgust his converts; but that, if he softened the advice by recommending them to leave all consideration of injuries and of their punishment to the Almighty, he *might* dispose them to listen to him, and so gradually wean them from the indulgence of vindictive passions. In any case, he inculcated the best course of action; though some appear to think, without suggesting the best motives.

After all, perhaps, it may admit a doubt, whether, in the motive he did suggest, he accommodated himself to the peculiar feelings of those he addressed; or whether, acting upon that habitual sense of implicit reverence to the Divine dispensations, which was so deeply implanted in the mind of every Jew, he felt satisfied with teaching what his blessed Master had taught before him, and then with referring the event entirely to Him, who ordereth all things in heaven and earth; and who, among other instruments of His will, employs the agency of human passions to purposes of ultimate good."—p. 234—239.

Our next extract will exhibit the Preacher, not as a critical expounder, but as most usefully rebutting a dangerous error especially rife in our own days. His subject is, "The Difficulty of escape from sinful habits;" (Sermon XXIII.) and he takes occasion, very justly, to expose that morbid spirit which seldom allows a great criminal to expire on the gallows without a confident testimonial of his ultimate assurance of salvation.

"The circumstances, to which I more particularly advert, are of those unhappy persons, who have pursued a course of guilt, till at length they are stretched on the bed from which they have no hope of rising: or of such as are seized by the arm of human justice, and doomed to expiate their crimes against society by a violent and ignominious death. To these latter cases I will call your attention, because some of my hearers are, and others may be, in that high but responsible station, in which it is their painful duty to award the severe, but just, sentence of the law.

"After all that has been offered to your consideration upon the effect of habit, and the difficulty of changing a long course of immorality or guilt, what reliance can be placed upon the efficacy of repentance, begun and professed in such a state of probable ignorance, of avowed neglect, of distraction, of dismay? How can the sinner, laid on the pillow, which will soon receive his parting breath; or the criminal, destined in a few short days to bring his career of crime to an end; how can either of these give evidence of that faith, which, in order to be efficacious, must be accompanied with a good life; of that repentance, which cannot be genuine, unless it bring forth its appointed fruits? The evidence of a good life cannot be supplied, at least to mortal eye, because life itself must so shortly come to an end. The fruits of repentance cannot be exhibited, because the axe is already laid at the root of the tree.—But it will be contended,—it is contended by the generous, but mistaken, enthusiast, that faith availeth to salvation—that 'the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.' These propositions, no doubt, are true, provided they be rightly understood. Faith only availeth to salvation; but it must be that 'true and lively faith, out of which good works do necessarily spring.' Again, we agree that nothing can effectually cleanse from sin, except the blood of Christ; but certain conditions are imposed on those, for whom these precious means of grace are provided. They must render themselves worthy to be cleansed; they must not only 'repent and turn to God;' but they must 'do works meet for repent-

ance.' Now it is impossible for any man *confidently* to affirm that the faith of such persons is so real, as to render them acceptable to their Heavenly Father; no man can *safely* pronounce, that the merits of their Saviour will be extended to them,—I do not say that it is actually impossible for persons, even thus situated, having run a long career of guilt, and being suddenly brought to the verge of death, to become objects of Divine mercy. But I do say, from a serious consideration of the threats as well as promises of the Gospel, and from the uniform tenor of the exhortations to practical holiness which it contains, that it is *very improbable* they should possess that genuine contrition and that firm resolution, which would prevent them from relapsing, if longer life were allowed them. It is therefore highly presumptuous, and in some cases very pernicious, for any man to inspire such sinners with *confident* hope of acceptance at the throne of grace; either through the power of faith, or even the merits of the great Redeemer.

"Delightful, no doubt, is the feeling, if we can pour balm on a wounded spirit, or soothe the miserable in this world with the bright prospects of eternity; but our feelings must not be gratified at the expense of our knowledge or our sincerity—nor indeed ought death to be deprived of its wholesome terror, because our sympathy is powerfully excited for the unhappy being, who is so soon to enter that dark and mysterious abode. Better is it to unfold the book of God in all its awful truth—to explain its promises, but not conceal its threatenings. Neither of wisdom nor of kindness would it be the act, to infuse groundless apprehension—yet surely the minister of God ought not to withhold the admonition of salutary fear. Hope may perhaps be expressed, even in such cases, from the goodness and mercy of God; but not in terms to encourage presumption. The proffers of Christ to awakened and thoroughly contrite sinners may be made known; yet neither His righteousness nor His justice should be forgotten."—p. 336—339.

The two Sermons from which we have derived most pleasure, are the XXIVth—the "Equitable distribution of future reward or punishment," in which the Preacher argues most ably in favour of a graduated scale, adjusted according to the works of such individuals; and yet more the XXVIth, "The studies of Religion recommended to Laymen"—one short passage must be cited from the latter.

"Among the strange occurrences of modern times, we have seen formal and dogmatical treatises written by persons unprofessional upon the most abstruse doctrines of Christianity, without any reference whatever to the original language in which those doctrines are recorded. Yet it is perfectly clear, that all questions about Scriptural doctrines can only be determined by the actual signification of that original language. All matters of controversy concerning them are neither more nor less than so many differences of opinion about the import of the original terms.

"Now let us imagine a person totally ignorant of the Greek language, or but slightly acquainted with it, interposing his judgment upon

a disputed passage in Homer or Pindar, Æschylus or Sophocles, Plato or Thucydides. Suppose him not only to interpose his judgment in it, but to maintain his opinion obstinately against another, who had devoted much of his time to the study of the language, and was accustomed to weigh the niceties of its structure and the peculiarities of its idiom. Would not all such interposition be justly deemed rash and presumptuous? Would it be any justification for such a one to say, that he had carefully studied the words of a translation? The translation no doubt may bring him acquainted with the general contents of a work; but, however well executed, it cannot be infallible; and, in matters of doubt, can only be appealed to as containing the opinion of the translators. Yet this very course is continually pursued in reference to the Holy Scriptures. Men, who judge in haste and who are ill qualified to judge at all, not only form their own opinions upon disputed points according to the sense they affix to the version (which version must itself be often expressed in ambiguous terms);—but they confidently oppose their own conclusions to those of sound scholars and able divines. When the eunuch of Ethiopia was reading a passage in the prophet Esaias, and the apostle Philip inquired, ‘Understandest thou what thou readest?’ the modest and candid answer of the eunuch was, ‘How can I, except some man should guide me?’ The shrewd observation of Grotius upon his reply was this: ‘Non putabat tam perspicuam esse Scripturam Sacram, ut nunc faciant, non *sellularii* tantum, sed et *feminae*.’ ‘He did not imagine the meaning of Holy Scripture to be so clear, as now-a-days it is thought by *artisans* and *females*.’”—p. 380, 381.

On two, perhaps on three occasions, (but concerning the second we do not feel quite certain) some notices relative to public events were necessarily interwoven with the Sermon of the day. The death of George IV. added five and twenty lines to Sermon XVII., “connected with the melancholy event which now saddens the hearts of the loyal people of the realm.” The XVIIIth Sermon, on the conduct of Rehoboam, appears to have been preached a few months afterwards; and if it were intended to convey any allusion to the great changes made about that time, every one must admire the dexterity with which it was introduced. We are told, that on the accession of the King who succeeded Solomon on the throne, “he foolishly listened to the counsel of thoughtless men, disregarding the sage remonstrances of those more experienced counsellors in whom his Father was wont to confide.” The concluding Sermon was preached on the Martyrdom of Charles I., and in compliance with the Rubric, which directs that the argument of the Discourse should be against “disobedience and wilful rebellion,” and in penitent commemoration of the murder of the King, we are informed—

“That the calamitous reign of Charles I. should serve as a lesson of prudence and justice to a king, while it prescribes fidelity and obedience

to his subjects. The disposition to overstep the bounds of lawful authority, the violence to which he had recourse, the insincerity by which there is too much reason to believe he was actuated, brought upon the unhappy Charles that fate, which we are this day called upon to deplore. Yet was the example, however awful; the lesson, however severe; lost upon his infatuated sons. The elder of them indeed did not, like his father or his brother, lose either life or crown. But from the odious and impolitic measures which he pursued, it was more the fear of his successor, than attachment to the reigning prince, that caused his subjects to regret his loss; and, had he lived some few years longer, he might perhaps himself have felt the punishment, which at length overtook the superstitious and despotic James for his iniquitous attempts against the liberty and religion of his people."—p. 397, 398.

It is but just to add, that this Sermon contains a marked reprobation of all popular violence at the present moment, because, "at no period of our monarchy have the advisers of the Crown expressed a more honest and laudable determination to improve whatever shall really be found to demand improvement, and to redress, so far as their power shall extend, every substantial grievance." From this paragraph, and from one or two more of similar tendency, arises our hesitation in distinctly affirming that any reference to matter of State was designed in the Sermon on Rehoboam.

ART. X.—*Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians.*
By A. H. L. Heeren. 2 vols. Oxford: Talboys. 1832.

FEW subjects are more interesting, and perhaps less known, than those which occupy the pages of the present work. The materials from which the facts are collected, are too scanty and detached to afford a full developement of each particular connected with the inquiry, and history is too silent respecting the earlier days of the two former people, to enable us to point out the original causes of the results which have been observed. Of Carthage, indeed, how little authentic is known, except its power and its splendour, until its wars with Syracuse and Rome prominently brought it upon the theatre of the world? and even the few remains of its language are so mutilated and corrupted, that we may not implicitly rely upon the conclusions which learned men have drawn from them. Of ancient Æthiopia we know less, nor with its modern occupants is our acquaintance much more perfect; and all that we have been taught to believe of Ægypt in remoter ages, excepting as far as we have been taught by the Scriptural records, has been derived to us through a Grecian channel.

To penetrate the mist which shrouds the incunabula of these nations, from whence only a true light would be reflected on their primitive history and mythology, must be accounted an impossibility, notwithstanding the discoveries which the elucidation of the Ægyptian hieroglyphics may exhibit; we therefore thankfully hail any illustration of their later times which is founded on an historical basis.

If Ægypt was peopled from Æthiopia, and if the Phœnicians (of whom the Carthaginians were a colony,) belonged to the Ægyptian stock, a wide field is certainly open to us to explain the phenomena which every research into this subject discloses to us; yet, whilst we notice the Æthiopic and Phœnician tongues, (under the latter of which that of Carthage must be included,) allied decidedly to the Semitic-family, we at the same time remark in Ægypt one totally distinct in its native vocables, and absolutely dissimilar in its grammatical principles;—thus, the historical theory is sustained by the analogy of the Æthiopic and Phœnician, but must remain broken by the problem of the Coptic, unless among some of the unexplored dialects of Æthiopia, one sufficiently proximate to it be discovered to prove that both classes of languages had Æthiopic counterparts.

No Carthaginian writings survive to assist our inquiries, and to Roman and Grecian accounts, however jejune, we must trust for the little knowledge that we have. Carthage was a Phœnician colony from Tyre, established on the northern coast of Africa, but less ancient than Utica;—it was independent of the parent-city, and from the number of towns either under its immediate sway or tributary to it must have arisen to a great importance before the period in which it is conspicuously noticed in the historic page. Heeren has ably examined its several dependencies, as far as they can be ascertained from these imperfect traces, distinguishing those who cultivated the soil or settled themselves in cities, from those merely nomad tribes, whom policy forced to attach themselves to it. As on every occasion these latter were inclined to break the yoke, it is evident that its territory in Africa was never sufficiently united for every part to have stood in an equal and absolute dependence on the capital,—that it was the head, but not the uncontroled mistress of the old Phœnician colonies, which for some time formed a number of confederate states along the coast, and that *its only real subjects* were those nations whom it had accustomed to agriculture. Although the states of Phœnicia Proper had nominal kings, they were (as Heeren remarks) nevertheless republics, and their small territory was surrounded by empires, against which they could not always maintain their independence; but with Carthage the

case was different, for being situated where warlike and mercenary nomads readily supplied numerous armies, she had the power, and found it her interest, to conquer and subjugate. Yet, notwithstanding her mighty sway, the power of her fleets, and the force of her land-troops, she was less actuated by ambition than any nation in similar circumstances; immeasurable Africa, appearing in her day but to await a ruler to consolidate its scattered resources, afforded to her no temptation to increase her dominions beyond that extent, which sound policy defined; nor even did her minute knowledge of so rich a country as Spain, in which she had already so many settlements, by which her commerce was enlarged, and from which she obtained an almost inexhaustible supply of precious metals, allure her to attempt its complete subjugation, until the concussion, which her political power received from her last struggle with Rome, presented it to her consideration, as the most obvious compensation for Sicily, and the only mode of recovering her just balance in the scale of nations.

But the policy of the Carthaginians rather taught them to confine their foreign possessions to islands, because they are more capable of being maintained by a maritime power than continents; among these, Sardinia was the emporium of their trade with the west of Europe, and in the vast supplies of corn which it yielded to them, was surpassed by their African dominions alone. Their policy induced them to shut it against strangers,—perhaps on account of its mines and precious stones,—but the Etrurians possessed it before them. This people had establishments in Corsica, as well as the Carthaginians; and in Sicily the Greeks had also splendid possessions, from which the Carthaginians, in the wars which they waged with them, could not dislodge them, although those which the Phœnicians proper had there acquired, seem to have fallen into their hands. The Balears and other smaller islands in the Mediterranean served them as stations for their vessels, and as staples for their goods.

With respect to the Phœnician colonies in Spain, it is impossible to determine the period of their first establishment: Andalusia, or the country of the Turdetani, was, however, their proper territory. How much of Spain they occupied we do not precisely know; but the parts which they selected were those to the south and west; and it is by no means probable that they extended far into the interior. Yet it is worthy of remark, that between Gades and other Carthaginian cities the same relation seems to have existed, “as between Carthage and her neighbouring colonies, and Tyre and the towns around her in the parent-state.” To no nation was the system of Colonization of such vital necessity; it gave sinews to their wars, vigour to their trade, and pro-

spérité to their whole body; it is not therefore surprising that they should have carried it to such an extent. Everywhere they in some degree connected it with their religion, by introducing the rites of their national deity Melcarth, (the Tyrian Hercules,) wherever they planted a settlement; the object of which was as much political as religious, being that of forming a link between the colonies and parent-countries, which might not be easily dissolved. These colonies, indeed, they seem to have founded, not on a small scale, gradually capable of augmentation, but on one extensive from the first, and calculated for immediate self-defence;—thus, New Carthage, in Spain, arose, at once, to an immense city, and Hanno's fleet, consisting of sixty vessels, carried thirty thousand people, who were distributed *merely into six towns*.

The Roman accounts, and the statements of all those who compare the Carthaginian government and magistracy with the Roman, must be regarded with suspicion, because the genius and the habits of the two nations were not similar. The government of Carthage was municipal; by its commerce it arose to opulence and power, but although it so indefatigably and extensively pursued its commercial system, it was nevertheless closely devoted to agriculture. Of its literature we merely know that the Romans gave the libraries, which they found there, to their Numidian allies, and that some few works, such as that of Mago, were translated into Latin.

According to the voice of early tradition, it is affirmed to have had originally a monarchical government; but the change, by which it became republican, is unrecorded; it was, however, never despotic. An aristocracy, indeed, arose in time, which imparted to it strength and solidity, and the higher orders appear to have followed martial occupations; nevertheless, there is no proof that an hereditary nobility with hereditary rights, like those of the early Roman Patricians or the Venetian *Nobili*, existed in Carthage.

“But,” (as Heeren observes,) “there are many degrees between so powerful an aristocracy as this, and complete equality; and although there may be no evidence of an hereditary nobility in Carthage, similar to the one here described, yet it may, on the other side, be very easily proved, that a perfect political equality was still farther distant. . . . In a rich commercial city, wealth had naturally the greatest influence. As in Carthage, the magisterial office conferred honour without revenue, and as it nevertheless must have brought with it a great expense, it follows, of course, that it could only be administered by the opulent: rich families, therefore, although they might have no hereditary claim, procured one by their wealth, which was not less valid, while it lasted. Riches, however, were not always alone sufficient. . . . It was not,

therefore, so much a real hereditary nobility, that composed the aristocracy of Carthage, as a number of *optimate families*."

Thus the government never became a pure aristocracy, but always had a mixture (although a very limited one) of democracy; and Aristotle and Polybius both cite the Spartan government as that most closely resembling it in its principal parts. Every thing brought before the people was first deliberated in the senate: thus, though the elections were not entirely in their hands, they maintained an important part in them, and even, according to Aristotle, decided in all cases on which the senate and kings could not agree; but this system opened a door to bribery and corruption, and caused the highest offices in Carthage to be bought and sold.

Besides the ordinary senate, there was a select council called *Gerusia*, who were also members of the former, and have been incorrectly identified with it by some writers: from a comparison of the different notices of them in history, their number is estimated at one hundred, and they seem to have formed a state-tribunal, like others of more modern times. The pentarchies, mentioned by Aristotle, who elected the members of this council, appear likewise to have been different committees of five, chosen from it for particular purposes.

The Carthaginian senate, including the larger and smaller body, deliberated upon all foreign affairs, and the official reports were delivered by the *suffetes* or kings, who presided: it received foreign ambassadors and decided upon war or peace, and when it agreed with the *suffetes*, was not obliged to refer to the determination of the people. But as nothing was brought before the people, on which the senate had not previously deliberated, it is evident that the greatest portion of the legislative power was in its hands. Nevertheless, the city abounded with political societies, who held their secret meetings, in which propositions brought before the senate were not unfrequently first discussed.

The *suffetes*, who presided over this national assembly, whom the Greeks call βασιλεις,* and whom the Romans more properly compare to their consuls, were elected from the principal families, but respecting their number and the duration of their office ancient writers are indeterminate and often contradictory. The next in rank was the general, who was also elected, that the civil and military power might be kept distinct, nor could the *suffete* enjoy this dignity, until it had been expressly conferred upon him. On this principle, there are instances, as in that of Hanno,

* The term "*Kings*" is an incorrect translation of *suffetes*: שופט implies a judge or president. Festus says, Suffes, consul linguâ Pœnorum.

of suffetes being also generals, and, according to Diodorus Siculus, (p. 685,) of generals becoming suffetes: but the powers of the general expired at the close of the campaign. The election of generals first took place in the Gerusia, after which it was proposed to the senate and people: commissioners, however, were frequently deputed from the Gerusia to attend them as a council. The prætors and quæstors mentioned by the Romans were probably chiefs of pentarchies.

All lawsuits in Carthage were decided by magistrates and regular courts of justice: Aristotle names one of these as *the hundred and four*, which we must carefully distinguish from the *hundred* of which the Gerusia consisted. This was probably a superior court, containing many subdivisions or sections for different branches of law, the sentence being pronounced in full assembly (*in pleno*), but whether the other magistrates of Carthage, of whom there were doubtless many, besides these hundred and four, sat in this full assembly, is uncertain. Excellent as was its political system on the whole, the too powerful influence of wealth in procuring the highest civil offices, and the accumulation of many on one individual, were the evils which contributed to its fall.

The Carthaginian religion was substantially the same as the Phœnician; yet it suffered many changes and admitted foreign gods. The Carthaginians annually sent embassies and offerings to the Tyrian Melcarth, and were addicted to human sacrifices, although they greatly diminished the practice, in comparison with the Tyrians: but respecting the names of their other deities we are left in considerable uncertainty, as the Greeks and Romans have only mentioned them under those received into their own pantheon.

“ There was, however, no distinct order of priests or religious caste in Carthage as there was in Ægypt: neither do we find traces of any particular sacerdotal functions being hereditary in certain families: nor have we any information as to the degrees of dignity in the hierarchy. But the offices of the priesthood were filled by the highest persons in the state, and had outward marks of honour attached to them, so that some of the most important of them were not deemed unworthy of the sons of their kings. Among these was doubtless the priesthood of Melcarth, with which the religious missions or *theoriæ*, to the temple of the national god of Tyre, were connected. Indeed the most important public affairs were so intermingled with religious ceremonies that it seems probable that the magistrates were also priests, or at least might become so. The generals were obliged to offer sacrifices even during the time of battle. Prophets accompanied the armies, without whose advice nothing could be undertaken. Public monuments of the greatest enterprizes were placed in the principal temples of Carthage; and the foun-

dation of sanctuaries was also connected with the planting of their foreign settlements, where care was taken to introduce the religion and form of worship of the mother country."

Gold and silver were the standard of value at Carthage, and though some are in doubt respecting it, money of both metals was coined there in all probability. The system also of barter and of tokens, which was common to the great commercial cities of the Greeks, was adopted, the latter of which answered the purposes of paper money with us. A substance of the size of a piece of four drachmæ was wrapped in a small bit of leather, then sealed and issued for circulation, and although this possessed no value out of Carthage, he who had the greatest number of these tokens was accounted the richest man. The seal proves it to have been stamped and issued by the state, and as it is affirmed that none but the maker knew of what the substance consisted, it probably was a composition of metals, whose proportions were a state secret. The taxes appear to have been paid in money or precious metals; but the largest contributions were drawn from the towns around the lesser Syrtis in the district of Emporia, Little Leptis alone paying daily a talent to the capital. But in the agricultural districts and foreign provinces, the tribute was the produce of their industry—in kind; in times of war, however equable and fixed they were in times of peace, all these were so increased, as to sow those seeds of discontent, which gave such constant trouble to the republic.

Another immense source of Carthaginian revenue was the customs, which were collected both in the ports of the colonies and in the capital, and to these in latter times we may add the mines.

The Carthaginian policy was excessively jealous of foreign interference with its trade; and though the republic never had a great share of the commerce of the eastern part of the Mediterranean, she attempted the sole possession of that of the western, which her rivals in Massilia, Italy and Sicily, allowed her not to obtain. To Sicily and Southern Italy she directed her navigation: her merchants even settled themselves in Syracuse and other Greek cities, and her ships filled their harbours. The articles of commerce, which she gave in exchange, were black slaves from the coast of Africa, precious stones, gold, and her own manufactures; those which she received were the product of the soil. Malta, inhabited by Carthaginians, was famed for the fine and soft texture of its cloths, and as the cotton tree is a native of the island, it is to be inferred that they were acquainted with its use. From Lipari and the adjoining islands Carthage brought resin; from Corsica wax, honey and slaves; from Æthalia (now Elba)

iron; and from the Baleares wine; female slaves were easily exchanged for beasts of burden. For these and other commodities she found a ready sale in Spain, and seems to have carried on a trade with the Gauls across Spain, as the Massilians only under great restrictions allowed her vessels to enter their ports.

The ambiguity of ancient writers in mentioning these nations renders it difficult, if not impossible, accurately to draw a line between the trade of the Carthaginians and proper Phœnicians. That the former also bore a part in the tin and amber trade may be proved beyond contradiction: according to Strabo, the tin-trade was first carried on from Gades by the Phœnicians, whence it would appear that at first the Carthaginians were the carriers, who sailed directly to the countries which produced this metal. From Festus Avienus's* account of Himilcon's Voyage, it is clear that the Tartessians or Phœnician colonists in Spain principally undertook these voyages, and that Carthage and her settlements actively participated in them. The object of them was certainly the Cassiterides or Scilly Islands; and as their inhabitants frequented in their fragile canoes Hibernia and Albion, it is most indubitable that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians also visited them. To this may be added Strabo's intimations of an active commerce on the British coast, and of the civilization of the native tribes by their long intercourse with strangers, which indeed will induce the supposition that the Carthaginians had settlements there. "Earthenware, salt and iron tools were the commodities with which the merchants supplied them: the trade, however, till the time of the Romans, was kept by the Carthaginians as secret as possible.

As all the Scandinavian districts produced amber, (*electrum*.) Heeren, arguing from the fact of their having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed from Tyre to Britain, is of opinion that they might also have reached "the Samlaudic coast, the native country of amber." He even assumes that they discovered the rich gold countries about the Senegal, because Hanno's voyage extended to the Senegal and Gambia, and because Herodotus expressly notices their trade with a nation on the Lybian coast exchanged gold or gold-dust for wares, which account of Herodotus, in its most minute descriptions, is confirmed by modern travellers. If this was indeed the case, (and probability inclines to it,) the policy of the Carthaginians, which kept the riches of their colonies and discoveries as secret as they could, is a sufficient answer to the allegation that no such discovery is positively recorded.

* De orâ maritimâ.

Their land trade was also nearly as extensive as their maritime, —a fact but little suspected, and far less examined by those who have treated of their affairs. Their caravan trade over Africa was another point which they politically kept secret, and Herodotus “alone conducts us across the deserts of Lybia, from the Nile to the Niger, and thence to the dominions of Carthage.” Slaves, which were either intended for home-use or for sale, dates, salt, and gold in grains or in dust, were among the many things which the interior supplied; the slaves were either employed in agriculture or on the public works, or manned their fleets; others* of them were also articles of traffic. The great caravan route across the desert from Ægypt, by the way of Ammonium, which Herodotus has given, Heeren insists to have been traversed by Carthaginian subjects; in this detail he has most luminously commented upon the Father of History, and critically justified his positions. Nor can any doubt of his hypothesis be reasonably entertained; for the vestiges remaining of a vast commercial intercourse between the nations of interior Africa, clearly point to the supposition that Carthage could not have been unacquainted with it, and if acquainted with it, would not have abstained from profiting by it. The route from Carthage to these marts and Upper Ægypt he has fully developed, and to this day the *Manzils* remain either the same or nearly so; the articles of commerce also continue unvaried. The chalcedony, for instance, which was brought from the interior, and took its name from Carthage, Καρχηδόνιος λίθος, on account of its vast traffic in it, is no mean presumptive evidence of this land trade; in fact, the people, who, according to Herodotus, mostly undertook these expeditions, and the emporia or cities of Byzacium, were subject to the power of Carthage.

The policy of Carthage was also evinced in the power and disposition of her war forces both by sea and land; but the commanders of the former were subordinate to those of the latter when they acted in concert. In her wars she had many allies, mercenaries, and tributaries: almost half of Africa and Europe was in her pay. A Carthaginian army was an assemblage of the most opposite races of man from different parts of the globe, that the difference of language might prevent plots and conspiracies:

“Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberiads, and savage Ligurians next to the far-travelled Nasamones and Lotophagi; Carthaginians and Phœnice-Africans formed the centre, while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the desert, swarmed around upon unsaddled horses and

* The slaves sold by the Carthaginians were mostly females, who produced in the Balearic islands three times the price of men.

formed the wings:—the van was composed of Balearic slingers, and a line of colossal elephants, with their Æthiopian guides, formed, as it were, a chain of moving fortresses before the whole army."

The number of Carthaginian citizens in their armies was not very considerable: their African subjects were their strength and sinews, but Spanish soldiers were their best disciplined troops, and formed their heavy-armed infantry. Yet their light African cavalry, a race in a manner born horsemen, like their descendants of the present day, were their most effective force; if they fled, they fled but to prepare for a new attack, and were to the Carthaginians what the Cossacks are to the Russians. The resources of the republic were such, that she could easily raise an army of a hundred thousand men, and even in time of peace the numerous garrisons of the provinces and that of the capital, mostly composed of mercenaries, created a vast establishment.

In an inquiry into the causes of the decline and fall of this mighty republic, Heeren conceives that the admission of an army of thirty thousand men, after the first war with Rome, into Africa, when the treasury could not satisfy their demands; was the primary, and that the mutiny subsequent to it, in which many Carthaginian subjects joined, by generating the feud between Hanno and Hamilcar Barca, laid the foundation of all the following calamities. For the democratical party, which Hamilcar in consequence of this drew around him, in a manner made him independent of the senate, which independence he continued to increase by his conquests in Spain, and transmission of Spanish treasures to Carthage. His son-in-law, Asdrubal, extended his plans, and attempted to found a new dominion in Spain, of which New Carthage was designed to be the capital, when he fell by the hand of an assassin, leaving Hannibal, whom he had tutored, his successor. But by this time an opposite faction had arisen in Carthage, desirous of punishing those enriched by the bribes of Hamilcar and Asdrubal, which caused Hannibal, from a view of maintaining the power of his party, to urge the second war with Rome. The spirit of faction they engendered operated during this war, and finally caused the destruction of the state.

The points of view in which this difficult subject is considered, are for the most part new, and are every where erudite: from the scanty records, to which access could be procured, Heeren has constructed a far more perfect history of the policy, commerce, and resources of Carthage, than they might be expected to have afforded. He has indeed made but little use of Munter's work on the religion of the Carthaginians, and scarcely noticed the punic coins; nor has he any where devoted a page to an inquiry into the language which prevailed among them. These, however,

were not precisely within the scope of his work. From Carthage he passes to Æthiopia, "*that most distant region of the earth, whose inhabitants are the tallest, most beautiful, and long-lived of the human race,*" (Herod. iii. 114,) who were also one of the most celebrated yet most mysterious of nations. Fictions relative to them abounded in the annals of the Ægyptian priesthood, in those of the nations of Inner Asia, and in the Græcian mythology: Homer's gods visited them and partook of their feasts, and they were immortalized by poets, many of whose names have perished. To what cause must this early renown be attributed?

Many nations distinct from each other were comprised under this general name:—"Africa certainly contained the greatest number of them, yet they were not the only inhabitants of this part of the world, nor were they confined to it alone. A considerable tract of Asia was occupied by an Æthiopian race; and as India was often made to comprise Southern Africa, so, in like manner, Æthiopia is frequently made to include Southern India." Ancient writers mostly divide the native African tribes into Libyans and Æthiopians, and call the foreign settlers Phœnicians and Greeks. Under the name of Libyans are included all the nations known to the Greeks "in Northern Africa without the territory of the Carthaginians and Greeks, as well as the separate tribes, which, as far as the Lesser Syrtis, Herodotus has so carefully enumerated; and the nomad tribes of Western North Africa, which later writers have rescued from obscurity, equally belong to them." North Africa, however, has been much changed since the migratory invasions of the Arabs: yet the Berbers, dwelling in the southern provinces of Barbary and Morocco, and especially in the Atlas Mountains, are the aboriginal tribes, under which name Heeren distinguishes the aborigines of Northern Africa beyond Ægypt, from the Atlantic Sea to the Arabian Gulph, in opposition to the Moors and Negroes. Later accounts have also made us acquainted with two nations in the western countries, the Tibboos and Tuaricks, who are totally different from the Arabs and Negroes; and it has been proved, that the Tuaricks and Berbers speak the same language, from which, in connection with other facts, it is clear that they are one and the same people. Their habits and business closely resemble those of the ancient Libyans; and had they not been driven by conquerors from the seacoasts, their seats would have been the same: but the Tibboos are a different people, being black in colour and distinct in their manner of living and language. They live partly in caves, partly in villages on barren rocks and hills, to avoid being plundered and sold as slaves by the Tuaricks and Fezaneeze: they are indeed very similar to those Æthiopians,

whom, according to Herodotus, the Garamantes hunted in four-horsed chariots. He distinguishes the eastern districts of Northern Africa, which we now comprise under the names of Nubia and Sennaar, by two races, the one aboriginal, to which he gives the general appellation of Æthiopian, the other an immigratory Arabian race, which remains still the case. But to draw a precise line between these would be difficult. The term of Nubian was not in use before the Ptolemies, and first occurs in Eratosthenes: it is generally given to "all the tribes dwelling on both sides of the Nile, from Egypt to Sennaar and the ancient Meroë," and sometimes, in a more limited "sense," it is applied to "the present Dongola." To the south of Dongola the Shey-gias dwell, a very remarkable race: in their country we first observe the pyramidal monuments which adorned Meroë, and its territory borders on the land of the Berbers. Above these regions beyond the Astaborasor Tacazze the Arabic entirely prevails; nor do the Ambara and other Abyssinian dialects begin to be spoken, till we reach the confines of Abyssinia. Among the races between the valley of the Nile and the Arabian Gulph ancient writers notice the Blemmies and Megabari, calling those who lived on the mountains Troglodytæ or cave-dwellers, and those on the coast Ichthyophagi or fish-eaters. Quatremere has proved the Bisharies, called by some Bejas or Bedjas, to be the same as the Blemmises: and from that part of the country of the Bisharies, where it joins the Ababdés, southwards to the neighbourhood of Suakin, is a mountain-ridge, which runs along the eastern coast of Africa, and has been immemorially the abode of tribes, who live in its natural holes and caverns,—the Troglodytæ of Herodotus;—and all the inquiries of modern travellers respecting the other tribes fully justify the statements of Agatharchides. Bruce supposes the Macrobianians to be the "tribe of the Shangailas, dwelling in the lower part of the gold countries, Cuba and Nuba, on both sides of the Nile to the north of Fazukla," but, with the exception of their strength in drawing the bow, no part of his proofs agrees with ancient accounts. Herodotus places them ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ,—on the Indian Sea, as Heeren understands the expression: whence he conjectures their situation to have been at Sasu, which bounds the land of Frankincense on the seacoast, in which also gold is plentiful: it is moreover evident, that as it formed a part of the coast, it must have contained one or even several seaports, from which trade was carried on. Bruce says, that the African land of Frankincense commences at Babelmandel, and stretches eastward almost to Cape Guardafui, including a part of Adel or Zeyla, with which the fifty days' journey from Axum, according to

Cosma's Indicopleustes, perfectly accords. Hence, the Somaules mentioned by Lord Valentia, whose trade consists in gums, myrrh, frankincense, cattle, slaves, gold and ivory, in return for which they receive the produce of Arabia and India, are probably the descendants of the Macrobian in Herodotus:—the altar of the Sun noticed by him having probably been the place in which the trade with strangers was transacted. To this extended commerce Isaiah, xlv. 14 appears to have had reference, in which prophecy סְבָאִים אֶנְשֵׁי מִדְּר have been supposed to be the Macrobian,* whose high stature Herodotus particularly records.

The Ægyptian rites and customs, which, from the writings of various travellers, Heeren has shown to be sculptured on the monuments in the vicinity of the Second Cataract, plainly prove the extension of the religion of Ægypt beyond the limits of the country itself, even if they do not fully establish his position—“*the conquest of Æthiopia and Meroë by the Pharaohs.*” But from the specimens at Dezar, and other places, he argues, that the science of architecture commenced with grottos and tombs, and became perfected by degrees, which he accounts a proof that it was indigenous and not of foreign, much less of Indian, origin. These grottos he maintains to have been at first sepulchres, though they might afterwards have been converted to temples.

The ancient Island of Meroë he demonstrates, by comparing with each other all the accounts which mention it, to be “the present province of Atbar, between the river of the same name or the Tacazze on the right and the white stream and Nile on the left. The point where the island begins is at the junction of the Tacazze and the Nile. In recent times it had formed a great part of the kingdom of Sennaar, and the southern part belongs to Abyssinia.” It is, however, to be observed, that Meroë is not strictly an island, since it only becomes such *completely* in the rainy season, when the overflowings of the rivers enclose it on all sides. On it stood the city of the same name, “a little below the present Shendy, under 17° N. lat. 5½° E. long.,” whose ruins Bruce saw at a distance; its site was near Assur. The monuments in this neighbourhood are so very numerous, that, were other evidences wanting, they alone would prove, that a considerable city once existed near them: more than eighty pyramids are divided into three groups, of which the most northern is the largest and the best preserved, which, though vastly inferior in size to the Ægyptian, are yet more wonderful from their numbers. In those remains of Meroë, which are at the present Naga or Naka, there are some peculiarities, which show them not to be

* Cf. Gesenius in loco.

purely Ægyptian. There exists no difference with respect to the religious rites: but here queens appear with the kings, not simply as presenting offerings, but as heroines and conquerors, to which nothing similar has hitherto been discovered either in Ægypt or Nubia. They are, therefore, subjects peculiar to Æthiopia, and denote the deeds of the ancient male and female rulers of Meroë, confirming Strabo's statement, that the women even in Meroë were armed. The perfection of the sculpture is very extraordinary, and is altogether in the Ægyptian style, whence Heeren, not improbably, conjectures, that these monuments may belong to the brilliant period of that empire, when the dynasty of Tarhako and Sabako ruled over Upper Egypt, to whom "it would have been easy to send Ægyptian artists to Meroë to perpetuate their fame by their workmanship."

Those at the station, now called El Messura, are equally extraordinary.

"They consist of eight small temples, all connected by galleries upon terraces. It is an immense building, formed by the joining together of a number of chambers, courts, temples, and galleries, surrounded by a double enclosure. From the temple in the midst the way to the others is through galleries or terraces, 185 feet in length. Each temple has its particular chambers. These buildings are placed in an exact order, and consist of 8 temples, 39 chambers, 26 courts, 12 flights of steps, &c. The ruins cover a plot of land 2500 feet in circumference."*

From this minute description by Caillaud, of which we have from necessity omitted some particulars, Heeren decides that "IT IS THE ANCIENT ORACLE OF JUPITER AMMON," which decision he not only establishes by the singularity of the building, but confirms from the words of Diodorus, which fix its locality in the desert, at some distance from the city. The same writer has recorded, that in the period of the Ptolemies the ruler of Meroë destroyed with an armed force the dominion of the priests, and killed those which belonged to this sanctuary;—and as to its situation in the desert, we merely may remark, that one of the principal trading routes runs close to it, and that the Ammonium described by Scholz, in his untranslated Travels, is also situated in the desert of Libya. If, then, at Messura was the oracular temple, it must have been the residence of those priests, who had the charge of the oracle,—a small, but perhaps the highest class; whence, on the other hand, it may be conjectured, that Naga was the proper metropolis of the caste. This conjecture is founded on the multitude of temples dedicated to Ammon and the kindred gods, and on the evident remains of a city, no traces of which are discoverable at Messura.

Meroë, in fact, was a hierarchy: priests controlled the govern-

* Caillaud.

ment, and chose from their own body a king. But this king was obliged to die at their pleasure, as it were by the command of the gods. This system continued till the reign of the second Ptolemy, when, through the increased intercourse with Ægypt, the Græcian philosophy having penetrated to Æthiopia, Ergamenes, the reigning monarch, according to the Greek accounts, rendered himself absolute by destroying the priests. It was by this act, as we have before observed, that the oracular establishment in the desert was annihilated. At the time of the Trojan war, during the reign of Memnon, according to Pliny, Meroë mustered 250,000 soldiers, and 400,000 *artificers*; and during the last dynasty of the Pharaohs at Sais, the caste of Ægyptian warriors migrated towards Meroë, whose ruler assigned to them dwellings in the province of Gozam, about the sources of the Nile. If, however, we ascend to the flourishing period of the empire—to that cotemporary with Hezekiah and Isaiah—we shall have the guidance both of the Jewish prophets and of Herodotus. At this period Sabako, Senechus and Tarhako directed their weapons against Ægypt, and at least Upper Ægypt became their prey: of these Herodotus only mentions Sabako, and states that he left Ægypt by the command of his oracle in Æthiopia. The influence, therefore, which the oracle of Ammon possessed must have been very great to have extorted obedience even from this absent conqueror. Senechus was the cotemporary of Hoshea, king of Israel and of Salmanassar, and Tarhako of his successor, Sennacherib, and their conquests show that Meroë must then have been an important state. The immense host, also, which Zerah led in the days of Asa (2 Chron. xiv. 9) prove its power in still earlier times. The sacerdotal traditions in Ægypt ascribe the foundation of the most ancient states in that country to Meroë in Æthiopia, and Heeren thinks that “the traces of its civilization approach the Mosaic period, in which the Jewish traditions ascribe the conquest of Meroë to no less a person than Moses himself:” but the arguments, which he founds on the occurrence of the name of Ramasses or Sesostris on Nubian monuments, and of that of Thutmosis, belonging to the preceding dynasty, in Nubia, and on “one of the most ancient monuments of Arnada,” are not convincing that the names were engraven in their days, and not at a later period; nor does the high perfection of the sculpture, the work, probably, of Ægyptian artists, necessarily show, for the very same reason, that Meroë had then attained the asserted degree of civilization.

Heeren, however, observes, that it resembled “the larger states of interior Africa in the present day: a number of small nations, of the most opposite habits and manners, some with, and some without settled abodes, form there what is called an empire:”—according to Eratosthenes the island contained a variety of people, of

whom some were devoted to agriculture, others to hunting, some to a nomad, others to a pastoral life. To the south of Meroë dwelt the numerous warrior-caste of Egypt, who, rebelling against Psammetichus, migrated, in number 240,000 men, to Æthiopia, and obtained from the king of Meroë a province—the present Gozam, an island formed by the Nile—forming a separate state dependent on Meroë: from these Herodotus affirms the Æthiopians to have received civilization. Among the cities which they built were Sembobytis and Esar. Here, then, we have a point of history which may explain the comparative date of *many* of the sculptures, although the writer has not viewed it in that light; and, as the style is Ægyptian, it is certainly the most probable. The ruling priest-caste, who considered themselves a primitive aboriginal people, from the numerous portraits, insignia, and habiliments on the monuments, he deems, with apparent reason, to have been the ancestors of the existing Nubian race: they still carry the long two-edged spear, and great shield of the hippopotamus skin, with which this caste is represented in the sculptures, and to which Jeremiah (xlv. 9) refers. For separate colonies of the sacerdotal caste spread themselves from Meroë to Ægypt, *at the time and to the place appointed by the oracle of Ammon*, as Herodotus says. Of these the nearest colony to the north was that on mount Berkal, the very name being preserved in *Merawé*, a village still existing on the spot. Ammonium, in the Libyan desert, was another, which, according to the Father of History, was founded in common from Thebes and Meroë: Thebes itself was a third, forming “a central point, from which they spread over the rest of Ægypt and the Oases,” whence it has been argued that civilization proceeded from Æthiopia to Ægypt.

At most remote periods the Æthiopians conducted a considerable trade, in which the Arabians, long known as navigators and voyagers to India, bore a considerable part, as must be apparent from the relative position of the countries. Isaiah (xlv. 14) notices the trade of the Ægyptians and the merchandize of the Æthiopians, and the connection, in which they are repeatedly mentioned, would of itself lead us to infer the connection of their commerce. Of this international traffic of the southern regions the strongest evidence remains: the gold of eastern Africa, the spice of India, and the precious productions of Arabia passed from country to country long before the dates of our historical records. Commerce and religion were always indissolubly connected in the East; the desert tracts and the maraudings of roving hordes rendered some *religio loci* necessary for its protection; and where could this be found but under the walls, or in the vicinity of temples? “Mecca remains still, through its holy sanctuary, the chief mart

for the commerce of Arabia." The situation of Nubia has always rendered it the grand caravan-communication between Æthiopia and the countries on this side of the Nubian desert; and a caravan still goes to Ægypt from Sennaar and Atbar, the ancient Meroë. This place is indeed the natural staple for the produce of inner Africa; it is the extreme point of the gold countries towards Egypt; it has navigable facilities, and, from its proximity to Arabia Felix, is the most appropriate mart for Arabian and Indian goods in Africa. Of the vast trade yet carried on at this place, and the commodities brought to it, modern travellers have given to us ample accounts, observing, that the great salt-works, whence all Abyssinia is supplied with the article, are but little distant from Shendy. The commerce with Ægypt being established, it is evident that Meroë must have extended its traffic far into the south of Africa; and our author is even inclined to doubt whether the extensive ruins at Axum, Azab, Meroë and Adule really belonged to *cities*, and rather to suppose them extensive places of trade, adorned with temples, and appropriated to caravans, to which hypothesis he is led by the nature of the country and nomad habits of its inhabitants. The conclusions which he draws from his researches are, that a commercial intercourse existed between the countries of southern Asia and Africa, between India and Arabia, Æthiopia, Libya, and Ægypt: that its principal seat for Africa was Meroë, the chief route of "which is still pointed out by a chain of ruins extending from the shores of the Indian Sea to the Mediterranean," Adule, Axum and Azab being links of it between Arabia Felix and Meroë, Thebes and Ammonium between Meroë, Ægypt and Carthage; and that its chief places were sacerdotal establishments, the head of which was Meroë, whence colonies were sent out. Hence, he draws a further inference, viz. "THAT THE FIRST SEATS OF COMMERCE WERE ALSO THE FIRST SEATS OF CIVILIZATION."

In his work on the Ægyptians, he commences by a dissertation on the discoveries of the hieroglyphic and hieratic writing, about which we shall not detain our readers; because a proper discussion of this abstruse subject would lead us into too wide a field of argument, there being very many points about which our judgment is by no means satisfied, and about which want of materials prevents it from arriving at a positive conclusion. His Chapter on the Land and the People is brilliantly written, but contains nothing which we did not previously know from other writers. So much, indeed, has been written concerning this country, that after the researches of the French savans, and more recently of Champollion, we can expect but little novelty from a writer who is simply indebted to these and the more ancient

sources. All that we can reasonably expect is some difference in the point of view, from which he has regarded these documents.

“The researches of more modern writers have placed it beyond a doubt that Ægypt, in its earlier period, contained *many contemporary kingdoms or states*, but which, nevertheless, became united somewhat later into one great empire.” This point is determined by the Chronicle of Eusebius and by a passage in Josephus, which states such to have been the opinion of Manetho himself, whose dynasties mention the names of the cities in which these kings reigned, and of course show, where the most ancient Ægyptian states were founded. They were altogether in the Valley of the Nile, on both sides of the river. Revolutions, of which we know nothing, either destroyed them or suppressed them for a time, partly, perhaps, occasioned by the barbarous nomad hordes, who every where surrounded them; while, on the other hand, it is evident that Thebes and Memphis were the mightiest and the most durable of their number. Thebes and the states of Upper Ægypt were called, in the Annals of the Priests, Colonies from Æthiopia; and

“Elephantis most likely owed its origin to the navigation of the Nile. It lay just at the point where the river became navigable without interruption; and where navigation must have assumed a new shape, ‘as portable vessels were no longer required.’ Memphis, whose situation was so remarkable from the dams and embankments, is called a colony of Thebes. The other cities of Ægypt, likewise, derive their descent—directly or indirectly—from Æthiopia, of which they considered themselves as colonies, and of which their religion and institutions furnish abundant proof.”

Thus, were they originally colonies from Æthiopia and Meroë; and though the extension of trade principally tempted colonists from Meroë and other countries beyond the Desert, the fertility of the land, and facilities afforded by so large a stream as the Nile, can scarcely be accounted subordinate causes. “*The Political division of the Land*” confirms, also, this view of the subject;—it was divided into nomes or districts, which the Ægyptians ascribed to Sesostri, though writers by no means agree as to their number; it is, however, apparent, that this division was, to a certain extent, connected with the objects and form of worship in the different districts. “Every new settlement of the priest-caste, with the territory that formed it, constituted one of these nomes,” which was distinguished from the rest by the worship introduced into it: thus, those of the Theban nome abstained from sheep, and slaughtered goats, whilst those of the Mendesian abstained from goats, and slaughtered sheep.

At first, therefore, they were so many independent states belonging to the priests, which, when the whole country was united into one large kingdom, as in the time of Sesostris, constituted its division into nomes, which fact explains the Ægyptian tradition, which refers this arrangement to that monarchy. Each of these being provided, as it were, with a metropolitan temple, we observe both a sacred and a common name given to the capital of each; thus Thebes was likewise "the city of Ammon;" Memphis, the "city of Phtha;" Heliopolis, the "city of Rhé, or Helios, or On," &c.

The Ægyptian priests appear to have closely corresponded to the Indian brahmanas in many particulars:—they were hereditary nobles, of whom some were devoted to the service of the gods, and of whom others were judges, physicians, and soothsayers, or discharged any function which demanded scientific attainments. They were the original proprietors of land within their respective territories, and in the time of Herodotus are represented as the *principal landed proprietors*; but it is evident, that when the state became augmented, they could not retain these possessions to their full extent. The warrior-tribe, the next in rank and influence, who were divided into the Calasiri and Hermotybi, are supposed by this writer to have been native Ægyptian tribes, "settled in a particular province, to whom, by an accurate admeasurement of the soil, a certain portion of landed property was given," and from the nomes into which they were distributed, it is inferable, that the Ægyptian war force was concentrated in Lower Ægypt. The rapidity with which the Pharaoh of the Book of Exodus pursued the fugitive Israëlites, proves that they must have occupied these quarters as early as the days of Moses. In his time they consisted principally of cavalry and war-chariots; but when the country became intersected by canals, a change must have been made in their system. With respect to the other castes, it is only necessary to notice that of the navigators, since it has embarrassed many writers, because before the reign of Psammetichus it has been conceived, that there was no regular employment for them. But Herodotus refers not to navigators of the sea, but to navigators of the Nile, who could not have been without constant duty during the periodical inundations. They were, probably, the descendants of the primitive inhabitants of the banks of the river before the formation of states upon them; and "the innumerable quantity of passage boats and ships of burden which covered the Nile from Syene to the Mediterranean, may give us some idea of the number of this caste."

The kings were but instruments in the hands of the priests, who exercised a great proportion of the government; but the royal race probably belonged to the tribe of warriors, for Sethos, the priest of Phtha, who obtained the sovereignty, was deemed an usurper. There were ceremonies which the kings as well as the priests had to perform:—the eldest son of the high-priest, according to Diodorus, could alone be about the royal person. Each day the monarch was bound to attend sacrifices and public prayers, and the whole of his life, both as to food and amusements, was prescribed by law; a contrivance which could not fail of establishing the authority and interference of the sacerdotal class. Nothing of importance could be transacted without astronomical calculations, for astronomy was a sacerdotal science; geometry, also, most necessary in a country where the Nile made new measurements of the land requisite, rendered them the indispensable arbitrators of disputes in this department. To which if we add, that the laws were for the most part ceremonial enactments, it will be evident, that this powerful order must have greatly limited the regal authority, and created a balance, from which good must have resulted to the general mass.

In his developement of the national religion we discover nothing that is novel, nor is it complete. Indeed, we know so little of the Ægyptian theogony from *native* sources, and are indebted for our information to the Greeks almost so exclusively, that we must place but a very measured dependence on all that history has handed down to us on the subject. The leading particulars may be correct: but when a foreigner identifies foreign gods with his own, he should give more positive data than any Greek historian has afforded us; the case will be doubtless parallel, if we compare the Greek accounts of Indian manners and opinions with the more accurate knowledge which our intercourse with the people has enabled us to acquire. The Greeks have given to us such few specimens of the ancient Ægyptian language, having, beyond dispute, interchanged ideas with the people by the aid of the class of *Ἑρμηνεῖς*, in those parts of the country in which the Greek tongue was not spoken, that it is natural to suppose many points to have been but imperfectly understood, and perhaps not sufficiently investigated by them. For, although the hypothesis, that several Greek translations of the hieroglyphic writing existed be not improbable, of which indeed the work of the high-priest Manetho is a proof, still these were necessarily distinct from their *sacred* writings,* which alone could explain

* The hieroglyphics were, doubtless, intelligible to every well-educated Ægyptian; but the *ἀντίγραφα* of the priests were preserved in the *anaglyphs*.

the true nature of the gods, and the real object of Ægyptian theology.

The stupendous Thebes, with its hundred gates, built on the two banks of the Nile, "without being connected, as far as we know, by means of a bridge," next engages our author's attention. He has summed up with great correctness and perseverance the accounts of its splendid monuments given by the writers belonging to the French Expedition, and more recently by Minutoli, and pointed out with much perspicuity what yet remains to be collected from them. From their testimonies Thebes evidently appears as the capital of a mighty empire, extended beyond Ægypt, and comprising at some distant epoch, a considerable part of Africa, and an equal proportion of Asia: her kings are depicted as conquerors, and prisoners from distant nations are seen prostrate before them. Xenophon, in the *Cyropædia*, records an intercourse between nations and states, from the banks of the Nile to the *Axis*, the *Indus*, and the *Ganges*; and, as in the middle ages, conquerors extended their sway beyond their own territories, "as far as China and the coast of the Atlantic ocean, why might not the same have happened 2000 years ago?" Whatever of fable may therefore have been admixed with the expeditions of *Sesostris*, *Osymandyas*, and others, still we have no right to dispute the plain facts themselves, whilst these monuments stand forth in evidence of similar occurrences.

He urges, likewise, that many of those buildings usually denominated temples, were not such invariably, some being clearly imperial palaces: *Diodorus*, in like manner, distinguished the *οικοδομήματα μεγάλα* from the *ναοὶ εὐπρεπεῖς* at Thebes. This difference is perceptible both from the disposition of the interior, the style of the architecture, and the decorations; in the temples the rooms intended for habitation surround the adytum, in the palaces where there are no adyta, they occupy their place, and generally consist of saloons and chambers, constructed of granite, instead of sandstone, like the rest. Thebes, according to *Diodorus*, had four principal temples, of which that of *Ammon* was the most celebrated, and as this was situated on the eastern side of the Nile, it must have been at *Luxor* or *Karnac*; but as *Luxor* exhibits nothing that can be compared to it, whilst every thing at *Karnac* refers to his worship, this evidently was its site. That the architecture of these temples was borrowed from the catacombs is very disputable, since the similarity may be more satisfactorily explained by the hypothesis, that although it became Ægyptian in its progression, it was not so originally, but was introduced from *Æthiopia*, the country of the *Troglodytes*. From many evidences which have survived, it seems certain that

Amenophis II., the Memnon of the Greeks, whose statue uttered "*a divine sound*," was the prince, in whose reign the great temples and buildings connected with them were commenced: this fact is attested by the inscriptions, which attribute to him the great sanctuary and the more ancient part of the palace of Luxor in Thebes. He was also the founder of the temple of Ammon Chnubis in Elephantis, and is recorded on the temple at Soleb, the most southern of the Nubian territory. Ramesses II. founded the palace of Medonet Abu in Thebes, and Sesostris, or Ramesses the Great, adorned Thebes and several towns in Ægypt with stupendous monuments.

Of the empire of the Pharaohs, Ægypt itself was the nucleus, and was entirely subject to the Pharaohs of Thebes. From their possession of Ammonium they became neighbours of the Carthaginians, with whom they maintained a peaceable commercial intercourse, although according to a striking passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, (xvii. 4,) hostilities sometimes occurred between them. But Æthiopia was the main point to which these monarchs directed their arms, and the country is fraught with monuments of their victories:—their dominion only extended to the northern boundaries of the empire of Meroë; but although it was overrun by Sesostris, the subjugation was but of short duration. Thus the two powerful empires of Thebes and Meroë existed together under relations, various and changeable, for many centuries,—each loving conquest, but neither attaining an extent of dominion equal to that of the great Asiatic empires. Memphis, at a later period, became the seat of government, and it was this removal, according to Diodorus, which caused Thebes to decline; but this is disputable, because it was the custom of ancient monarchs to have more than one residence; consequently, notwithstanding Memphis may for a time have been made the capital, by kings of the 18th and 19th dynasty, Thebes is proved by their names on its monuments, to have been the proper seat of government. The gold mines at Alaky, about fifty miles distant from Thebes, the taxes on land, the fisheries, and tribute extorted from conquered nations were among the principal sources of the monarch's wealth.

Ægypt was by nature the central point of the caravan trade, and at a most early epoch the Thebaid or Upper Ægypt became one of its most considerable marts; it was the emporium for the interior of Africa and the countries beyond the desert. From Æthiopia were brought

“gold, ivory, and slaves; from Arabia incense; and from India spices; Greece and Phœnicia supplied her with wine, and fine salt she procured in abundance from the African deserts. In exchange for these Ægypt

could give the first and most necessary want of life; her fertility made her the oldest granary for corn; and in the weaving both of linen and cotton she attained very early to a high degree of perfection."

Nevertheless she practised but little export; for as her situation rendered her the chief thoroughfare from South Africa and Asia, she was not compelled to resort to a foreign market, but waited till purchasers came in quest of her commodities. This land trade was first altered when Psammetichus threw open Lower Ægypt to the Phœnicians and Greeks, and entirely changed when Amasis opened to foreigners the mouths of the Nile, which had hitherto been closed against them. At first, indeed, he only granted this permission to the Greeks, and allowed *them even* only to land at Naucratis, on the Canopian arm, but these restrictions were soon disused, and the Nile became free to all after the conquest of the Persians. Thus, for any loss which Ægypt might have sustained in her land trade, she found far more than ample compensation in her maritime. Yet, it may appear extraordinary, that Ægypt enjoying its greatest prosperity under Amasis, her lost or last king but one, should have been on the very verge of her decline.

The causes are evident: the Æthiopian dominion over Ægypt, which lasted fifty years, prepared the way for subsequent changes; for after its end Sethos, by usurping the throne, exasperating the warrior-caste, and, seizing their lands, caused convulsions, which distracted the country, which terminated in a liberation from his yoke by the institution of the *dodecarchi* or twelve princes, to each of whom the government of a particular part of the land was consigned. This system was again abolished by Psammetichus, who by the assistance of Greek and other mercenaries made himself the sole master of Ægypt. From this period to that of the Persian invasion under Cambyses, during which the whole country was but one empire, Herodotus reckons 130 years. The manner, however, in which Psammetichus obtained the throne, imposed upon him the necessity of courting the favour and support of those foreigners, who had raised him to it: hence foreign settlements in various districts were permitted. That of the Greeks at Bubastus, in a nome belonging to the warrior tribe, occasioned that animosity, which caused the latter to expatriate themselves to Æthiopia: the consequence of which was, that the royal safety and warlike resources principally depended upon the former. Under Apries there was a war between the Ægyptians and the mercenaries, which ended in the defeat of the latter.

"The causes, therefore, which led to the downfall of the Pharaohs, will be immediately understood. After the Æthiopian conquest and the usurpation of Sethos, their throne, which had been founded on the unity

of the priest and warrior castes, never recovered its former stability. After the defection and emigration of the latter the nation was left without succour. Foreigners, whom she hated, were called in to protect her. These strangers were employed in foreign wars and conquests, which the nation disliked, and these wars and conquests miscarried. Dislike broke out into open rebellion: the ruling dynasty was overthrown: a bold adventurer seized the crown: he favoured foreigners and enriched Ægypt thereby: but he at the same time excited the rapacity of conquerors. What had Ægypt to oppose them with but an undisciplined mob?"

The power of the priests was not what it had been; the army had expatriated itself; the sole dependence of the government was upon the swords of mercenaries; what but decline and destruction could be the consequence of such a state of things?

Heeren's chief merit in these Dissertations (for we cannot call them histories) consists in his masterly mode of retracing the ancient commercial routes of the nations, whose antiquities he has discussed, and in his felicitous illustrations of their monuments from history. He has probably gone farther in his researches on Carthage, and contributed more novel information respecting it, than in those which he has prosecuted in the remaining parts of his work. But even in these he has but sparingly availed himself of Munter's labours. With respect to Æthiopia he has merely blended preceding information with his own hypothesis, and has in no instance commented upon the dialects spoken in that empire, from which indubitably much light might be reflected on the existing obscurity. Nor has he noticed the mysteries of Ægypt, nor even sought to retrace them to Æthiopia, although it is evident that they must have afforded the true explanation to the dark sayings of antiquity respecting the latter. It is conceded that we have but few historical data for such a research: nevertheless a discussion of the Ægyptian mysteries might have formed the basis for a more profound comparison of the monuments of the two, and probably elicited facts, which would have demonstrated their connection. The priestly groupes, for instance, which so frequently appear on these venerable remains, had assuredly a more recondite signification than that which his interpretation has assigned to them: but in the point of view from which he has regarded them, he has with singular ingenuity applied the whole to the support of his opinions. In these respects his work contains much that is novel and important, and is calculated to become a manual to those who shall hereafter be engaged in the same department of study. Rosegarten was certainly more qualified for such an inquiry: but Heeren has not noticed Rosegarten's labours.

It is, however, to be hoped, that the time is not far distant, when all the valuable histories, which this author has written, will be given to the English reader; in which case these, and the other works of the same nature, which he has composed, will form equally valuable dissertations on some of the subjects of which they treat.

ART. XI.—*Sermons on Various Subjects and Occasions.* By the Rev. William Jones, A.M. F.R.S. late Minister of Nayland. Now First Published from the Original MS. Edited by the Rev. William Henry Walker, A.M. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge; and Chaplain to St. George's Hospital. 2 vols. London: Rivingtons. 1830.

THESE Sermons form a valuable addition to the very useful stock of English practical Divinity. The merits and the peculiar manner of their Author are too generally known to render any exposition of them necessary in this place; and it may be enough to state, that the volumes before us very strongly resemble their predecessors from the same pen. A Divine, of whom Bishop Horsley could express an opinion that "he had, beyond any other man he ever knew, the talent of writing upon the deepest subjects to the plainest understanding," possesses no ordinary claims upon attention; and many pages in the present Sermons afford ample illustration of the justice of the Bishop's remark.

We do not very well understand why two and thirty years have been permitted to elapse since Mr. Jones's death, before the appearance of these Discourses; most of which Mr. Walker, the editor and a grandson of their Author, informs us were probably written for publication. But we are thankful that we have obtained them at any time; and we agree, moreover with Mr. Walker, in thinking that there are circumstances in the present most critical and portentous season, which may render them more than ever extensively beneficial. The principles, indeed, which Mr. Jones so zealously combated during the early period of the French Revolution, are again stalking abroad among us under other names; and it is the same Devil who is still seeking what he can devour, although, perhaps, he is masqued with a somewhat different vizard.

Mr. Walker has well characterized the spirit of his Grandfather in the following passage of his Preface.

"In the other works of this Author, the elegant scholar, the deep divine, and the unanswerable controversialist, are apparent; in these discourses we may more especially discern the zealous parish priest rebuking—instructing—exhorting; affectionately watching over the flock

of Christ, over whom the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, as one that must give a strict account to God, for the faithful discharge of his trust; labouring with all zeal, to turn the great natural powers of his mind, as well as his abundant stock of acquired learning, to the advantage of others, that they might become more obedient servants to their God, and better subjects to their king. He is, indeed, entitled to be considered in the light of a *true* patriot, as well as in that of an eminent divine. He was not of the number of those *false* patriots—those *slaves* of corruption, who would attempt to build up the liberties of their country with the fragments of the throne, on the ruins of religion:—whose liberty of *action* is licentiousness, their liberty of *conscience* infidelity. No: his enquiries led him into the history of man, to find out what the proper liberty of man must be: and discovering in this, that man is an accountable *creature*, he at once inferred, that the only true liberty of man must consist in Obedience, *for conscience sake, towards God*, and that this is the only *perfect freedom*. And, therefore, he was always the earnest advocate for the necessity of all those restrictions, both on the will and conscience, which are the only certain securities for civil liberty.”—*Preface*, pp. xii. xiii.

The reader is probably aware that the chief quality which he has to expect from these pages is plain, strong sense, rather than subtile and refined argument. The style is often simple, even to homeliness, but it is never repulsive; and if there are few paragraphs which even the most illiterate hind can fail to understand, we may safely affirm that there are still fewer from which the educated Christian may not derive materials for edification.

It is almost a matter of indifference from which of the forty-nine Sermons we select our citations. In no instance do we fall upon a purple patch, as the Romans would say, or in plain English idiom upon a *white-bear*; yet open where we will, we meet, for the most part, with sound position forcibly supported; and, above all, we do *not* meet with that technicality which, like the drone to the bagpipe, is the distinguishing appendage of most common preachments; and which also, like that most solemn and somniferous accompaniment, threatens the reader “not in vain with sleep.” We cannot better elucidate our remark than by stating that in a Sermon on “The Life and Character of David predictive of the Messiah,” (Vol. I. Sermon 8,) those two formidable words, type and anti-type,—which we have known bandied about for five-and-forty minutes to the impenetrable ears of an astounded Country congregation, by their very pious and well-read, but not very practical or well-judging Pastor,—do not once occur. Mr. Jones speaks of “the picture of Jesus Christ as it was eminently displayed to the Church in the person and history of the Patriarch David.” How “David, when speaking of the Messiah, seems to speak of himself,” how

“ Jesus Christ, under the prophetic state of the Church, was represented by persons as well as things;” how “ expressions may very naturally be transferred in the language of Scripture; which differs from that of all other books, from one character to another, that is, from the persons representing, to the persons represented;” how “ the Patriarchs and Prophets did really act in the person of the Messiah, and exhibit the most lively representations of his sufferings, death, resurrection, and glorification:” Each of these different periphrases is equally clear; and there is not one of them which the Bell-ringer, the Grave-digger, or even the Squire himself could have difficulty in comprehending. Far different would have been the consequence, if the Preacher had thought it a violation of decorum to discard the received costume of Divinity; and if he had pertinaciously adhered to that set pulpit phraseology in which

καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται.

The Sermon to which we have thus alluded, however, is in itself, far from being among our favourites. It requires no slight stretch of fancy to pursue some of the analogies which are discovered between our Saviour and David; and Mr. Jones, like many other writers of lively imagination, when once he sets off cantering in the dangerous chase of similitudes, fairly runs them to death. Thus, we are assured that the victory of David over Goliath is in all points a typical representation of our Saviour's conquest over Satan. First, we are told “ if the human species did ever furnish an exact and adequate representation of the Devil, this Goliath was the man.” Secondly, David slew his enemy with a sling, even as our Lord overthrew Satan with the staff of his cross. Thirdly, David wounded Goliath in the forehead; and it was prophesied of the destroyer of the Serpent, “ He shall bruise thy head.” Lastly, David cut off the head of Goliath with his own sword, and Christ destroyed the Devil by the sharpness of death, turning his own destructive weapon against himself.” Now, even if every commentator on Scripture, from St. Jerome down to the recent Compiler of the *Recensio Synoptica*, had made similar statements, we should, nevertheless, fearlessly pronounce them to be most arrant and egregious trifling; and we are convinced that, by a like process, Macedon might be *really* proved identical with Monmouth, and the Antipodes exhibited in close contact with each other.

We could almost quarrel with ourselves for having perversely selected for comment one of the passages open to objection in volumes which contain so much more that is worthy of high commendation; but impartiality compels us to notice that Mr. Jones's

two faults are an occasional unrestrained warmth both of fancy and of phrase. We pass on with much greater pleasure to a specimen of manly, vigorous, and conclusive writing. It is from a Sermon on the Trinity, in which all readers, who are acquainted with the same author's *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity* (and few of our readers are likely to be unacquainted with that invaluable Work) will perceive vestiges of reasoning already familiar to them.

“ It argues great inexperience of human nature, and ignorance of the Christian history, if we imagine a thing to be disputable because it is disputed. When men are divided in their opinions, it does by no means follow that the matter of their dispute is obscure and ambiguous. When they depart from truth, it is not on account of the truth itself, but for sake of something which they like better. Some are drawn away by their sensuality which darkens the mind; some seek for wealth, others for reputation; and some minds, which hunt after the wisdom of imagination, can be pleased with singularity and contradiction, even though it should be attended with beggary. God forbid, that the matter of truth should be blamed for the fancies of those who lightly forsake it! When the seed of the word perishes, the fault is in the soil; and men think differently of the same thing, because the state of their minds is different. Some glorified God and believed on Jesus Christ, for the new and wonderful act of raising Lazarus from the dead: others were so vexed at it, that they consulted how they might put Lazarus to death. Some rightly concluded from the miracles of Christ, that he was a teacher come from God: while others, offended with his person and doctrine, gave a contrary turn to the evidence of his miracles, and imputed them to the power of Beelzebub. Some, for the sake of his mighty acts, besought him to come and tarry with them; while others, for the same reason, besought him to depart out of their coasts. Thus also the whole Gospel, while it is acceptable and delightful to some as a savour of life, is a savour of death to others; like that pillar which gave light to the camp of Israel, but was a cloud of darkness to the Egyptians.

“ All these things being considered, there is nothing unusual in the case, if Christians, so called, are of contrary parties with respect to that primary article of their faith which meets them at baptism, even the doctrine of the Trinity. And now let us examine how it is treated. The vulgar disputant exclaims, that three and one cannot be the same, because it is not so in numeration. The more learned metaphysician argues upwards to a first cause, and when he has found it, concludes, on the authority of human philosophy, that this first cause can be no other than a *single person*. Thence he goes to the Scripture, and, of course, either rejects the Scripture, or finds his own doctrine there. This way of proceeding is of all others the most unfortunate; because he that brings to the Scripture that knowledge of God which he is bound, as a Christian, to receive from it, and will be leading that light which he ought to follow, will naturally remain invincible in his errors. He that

comes to a master to learn any science, which he thinks he has already learned in a great measure by himself, generally proves to be a conceited troublesome scholar; and can seldom or never be cured of his bad habits. Even so, he who comes to the Scripture to learn divinity, and thinks he hath already got the leading articles of it from nature, will be pleading all his life for a motley system of religion, made up of Christian truth and human error. If he commences author, and obtains any degree of reputation, he goes on, battling the Deists with his Christianity, and offending the Christians with his Deism. The present age, I fear, hath produced too many scholars of this mixt breed, under whose improvements the cause of Christianity is daily suffering. Let any Arian or Socinian in the kingdom consult his own breast, and then let him answer these two questions; first, *whether he has not a religion of his own, independent of the Gospel Revelation?* secondly, *whether he does not hold it necessary to reconcile Christianity with that independent religion?*" —vol. i. pp. 305—307.

Thus far for the general principles; the particular heads of the doctrine are enforced with similar neatness, perspicuity, force, and precision. Rarely have we met with instances of more closely-packed argument than may be found in the following paragraphs.

"We are said to be baptized in their *name*: the word is singular: therefore, what the Scripture calls, '*the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*,' is the *name of God*: consequently, it is the doctrine of the Scripture, that these '*three persons are one God*.' Whatever difficulty there may be in this, we have little concern with it: our duty is, not to explain what is infinite in itself, but to believe what is mysterious to our understandings. If this is the doctrine of the Scripture, that is enough for us, even by the consent of our adversaries." —vol. i. p. 308.

"It is objected, that the person of God the Father seems to be distinguished by some absolute titles of divinity; but this distinction does not appear. The divine nature is indeed named in the person of the Father; but if the same nature, with the same attributes, is inherent in God the Son, the objection comes to no more than this, that the person of God the Son is not the person of God the Father; which the Catholic doctrine of the Church hath always asserted.

"Advantage is also taken of the incarnation and humiliation of the Son; and passages spoken with reference to his humanity have been misapplied to show an inferiority in his divine nature. But no argument can be drawn from his humiliation in the flesh: because he never was in a lower condition than when he submitted to die and to hang upon the cross for us: and yet, of the person so suffering it is said, that *God* purchased the Church with *his own blood*; and that when he was pierced on the cross, that Scripture was fulfilled, in which the Lord himself (even *Jehovah*) said, they shall look on *me* whom they have pierced." —vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

"The Apostle saith—'*Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the prophet*:' but if we examine what he spake, as it stands in the Old Testa-

ment, we find those very words were spoken by the Lord of Hosts: so that the person of the Spirit is not distinguished from the Lord of Hosts, but comprehended under that great name, which cannot be communicated to any inferior being. The whole Scripture is said to have been given by inspiration of God: yet the act of inspiration is attributed to the Spirit as his peculiar office. The Holy Ghost spake by the mouth of David—the Holy Ghost spake by Esaias—thus it is said when particulars are mentioned; but in general it is affirmed, that God *spake* in time past unto the fathers *by the prophets*. These and many other expressions show that the Spirit is not different from God. Ananias, who lied to the Holy Ghost in the Apostles, *lied to God*, not to any other. So that if the *Holy Ghost* dwelleth in us, that is our proof that God dwelleth in us; if the *Holy Ghost* speaketh, this is our proof that God speaketh; if our bodies are the temples of the *Holy Ghost*, this is our proof that they are the temples of God. What God doeth *by* the Spirit, is not done by another, but by himself, by a person of his own Godhead; and is as truly the act of God, as the act or thought or will of a man's spirit, is the act, thought, and will of the man himself.”—vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

The Geologist may not perhaps be altogether satisfied by some *Sacred Theories of the Earth* contained in the XIIIth Sermon of the Ist Volume; nor will the ordinary reader of History open without surprise upon an account of the elder Brutus, in which he is described as “the first rebel in the Roman State, who drove out their Kings, afterwards killed his two sons, and was at last slain in battle himself.”—(Vol. II. Sermon I. p. 8.) This representation no doubt is true to the *letter*, but is it *all* that should be said of one *qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat quam deinde custos fuit*.

A few extracts from the Sermon “on Religion and Morality distinguished” will again present Mr. Jones in a very advantageous light; the terseness and power of compression exhibited in them are almost unrivalled.

“*Religion*, my brethren, is the rule which teaches us to believe in God and to worship him. *Morality* is the rule which teaches us to live soberly and honestly. The duties of *religion* are *faith, hope, and charity*: but the duties of *morality*, as they have been stated by the teachers of morality, are *justice, temperance, prudence, and fortitude*: we do not say that these are not *religious*, as well as *moral* virtues; for *religion comprehends morality*: but then it cannot be said, on the other hand, that *morality comprehends religion*. Faith, hope, and charity, can never be called moral virtues: nor has it ever been pretended that they are so: they are virtues which nothing but *religion* can teach.

“It may be worth your while, however, to hear what the *moral* virtues are in particular: I shall therefore briefly explain them to you in their order. *Justice* is the *rule of right*, according to which, we are to give to every man his due. We pay debts and wages: we render tribute to Cæsar, fear to the powerful, and reverence to the honourable.—*Tem-*

perance is the rule of sobriety; whereby the mind preserves a governing power over the appetites of the body, and prevents them from running to excess, as they are all given to do, much more than the appetites of the beasts. I dare say that all of you, when your memories are consulted, know some men *worse* than beasts: more ungovernable, and more insatiable.—*Prudence* distinguishes between good and evil; seeking the one, and shunning the other, from a prospective knowledge of their consequences. For the *prudence* of man is the *providence* of man, and it signifies that faculty of the mind which *foresees* and *provides*: and happy are they that exercise it.—*Fortitude* is the same with courage: it is that faculty of the *wise*, by which they meet danger, and bear sufferings. I say of the *wise*, because the courage of *fools* is without prudence, and we call it *rashness*.”—vol. ii. pp. 197, 198.

“These virtues, as I have described them, do well between man and man, and we wish that the world had more of them: but if you ask whether they will carry a man to heaven, I answer—No; for man goes to heaven for the sake of Christ, who is gone there before him, and for some virtue that passes between himself and God; which is the virtue of FAITH. In the sight of God, all other things are of no value without this; and, therefore, it is truly affirmed by our blessed Saviour, in the words of the text, “*Without me, ye can do nothing.*” For man is dead, and must have a new life put into him, of which life he can no more partake without Christ, than a branch can have life without the vine: for Christ is the *true Vine*, and we are the *branches*. We are *inserted* into this Vine by *baptism*; and we *live* in it by *faith*.

“It may seem then, that our end is answered, if we have but *faith*, and that we need have nothing else. But this is not true: some people thought so in the beginning of the Gospel; but the apostle taught them better. To live without moral virtue is to live in *sin*, and how shall he *live* in sin, who is *dead* to sin with Christ in baptism? Faith does not make *void* the rules of morality but *improves* and *exalts* them all: it gives us the *true* motives on which they are all to be practised. How can the Christian be unjust, when the apostle hath said, “*owe no man any thing?*” How can a man be a glutton or a drunkard, when “*he that striveth for the mastery,*”—as we do daily against the powers of earth and hell—“*must be temperate in all things?*” How can we be improvident, when we are bid to look forward and “*take heed*” to ourselves that we be not deceived, and made fools of to our everlasting ruin? How can we be cowardly and afraid of the world, when we are ordered to “*contend earnestly;*” to speak boldly for the faith we have received; and die for it, if required, as the soldier dies for his country; knowing that a crown of victory is laid up for those who, by adding *virtue* (that is, *courage*) to their faith, demonstrate its reality? But if these virtues are necessary to Christians, you may, perhaps, ask—why then, are we saved by *faith*?—why not by *virtue*? The Scripture, it is certain, makes our faith the *only* title to salvation; and there is wisdom, and justice, and propriety, in our being saved, not by what we *do*, but by the faith, hope, and charity, *with which* it is done. For observe, that all good works of every kind, which the world allows to be good works, may

be practised in *hypocrisy*, from some vain motive, to persuade and deceive *men*: but in *faith* there can be no hypocrisy, because it is between man and God, and it is impossible to be an hypocrite to God: for this reason *no virtue* is certain and universal, but that of *faith*. It extinguishes all pride and ostentation, and gives to God alone the whole glory of our salvation. *Reason* asks questions: *Faith* believes promises; it takes God as its friend and its life, and does not stand bartering with him about the value of its performances."—p. 199—201.

We might continue our citations to a similar purpose through many other Sermons; but it must be recollected that we are not introducing a *new* author to the Public, but reviving the recollection of one with whom it has had long acquaintance. The Editor, it would seem, has imbibed much of his Grandfather's sound opinions, and a portion also of his manner. It is evident that he thinks strongly and speaks boldly, and we are frequently pleased by the correctness of views which he exhibits in some of his notes. One specimen may suffice.

"A modern author, of considerable reputation, in arguing against a death-bed repentance from the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, seems to conclude altogether against the *possibility* of such repentance being efficacious. Our state of trial, as he observes, consists in the experiment how we shall conduct ourselves under the *uncertainty of life*; and thence he concludes, 'that this our state of trial is at an end, as soon as ever this uncertainty is at an end;' nor can this conclusion be evaded. But then it must be remembered, that this uncertainty is never at an end till life is *extinct*. Therefore, his subsequent reasonings, which proceed on the supposition, that the uncertainty ceases when life is *apparently* about to be extinguished, are inconclusive. The highest degree of moral certainty as to the approach of death, may be supposed to exist in the mind of a criminal condemned to die on an appointed day and hour. But absolute certainty cannot exist till the moment of execution. If, by the verdict of the jury, 'the door is shut,' all exhortations to repentance from the judge, or visiting clergyman, are only cruel mockeries. It is, indeed, a most alarming truth, that a dependence on a death-bed repentance is always a most dangerous and often a most fatal experiment: but the principle laid down by this writer is not without danger. A lingering illness is frequently, under the blessing of God, a means of awakening the sinner to a sense of his awful condition, and leading him to an unfeigned repentance; and therefore any principle which necessarily holds out *despair* to the *apparently* sincere penitent, when *hope* is the least comfort that ought to be afforded, must be highly dangerous. Such is the tendency of the principle which asserts of the presumptuous sinner, as well as of the watchful Christian, 'that it makes no difference with respect to a man's salvation, whether he be struck dead by a flash of lightning, or die of a lingering and incurable disease.'—See *A View of the Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State*. By a Country Pastor. Sect. II."—vol. ii. pp. 309, 310, note.

This objection is acutely, and by no means uncourteously stated. Once or twice, on other occasions, we have regretted what appears to us a little too much tartness of expression. We by no means object to the deserved visitation inflicted on the *Rational Historian of the Jews*; (vol. ii. p. 138, note,) but we should prefer a less vehement and less sarcastic tone than that sometimes adopted, in considering certain questions which have been disputed by high authorities. That which Bishop Warburton denies is not rashly to be assumed as being "beyond a doubt." It may so happen that the Bishop is wrong in his particular hypothesis; but it requires a good deal more than a sharp note to convict him of error.

ART. XII.—*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, on Thursday May 19, 1831, at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy.* By the very Rev. George Chandler, D. C. L. Dean of Chichester, and Rector of All Souls, St. Mary-le-bone. London. Rivingtons. 1831.

WE ventured on a former occasion to express a confident hope that the Anniversary Festival of the Sons of the Clergy might be remodelled, and that the friends of the charity might no longer have reason to complain of the utter disproportion which exists between the machinery employed, and the result produced. Our hopes have been hitherto disappointed, but we do not despair of their ultimate accomplishment. The case is so clear, that no candid person can read the statement which we made two years ago, without admitting that there is great room for improvement. Difficulties may exist in the way of those who are desirous of introducing the requisite alteration—but they are difficulties which ought to be overcome. Nearly every other Church Society in the metropolis is, at the present moment, in a state of great and increasing efficacy. The Festival of the Sons of the Clergy is, and has long been, stationary—and stationary, if not retrograde, it must still remain, until some material changes are made in its constitution. The sums of money raised in the Cathedral of St. Paul by this ancient institution, fall far short of those which are raised for various charitable purposes in the Cathedrals and Churches of York, Worcester, Gloster, Hereford, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other provincial towns; and until this ceases to be, we shall continue to give distinct utterance to what is mur-

mured day by day in our ears, namely, a wish that something may be done to extend the operation of this valuable society.

Dr. Chandler's Sermon is admirably calculated to show that such a society is wanted, and to excite those feelings in favour of the clerical body, which may eventually produce a more adequate provision for their support. The claims and services of the Clergy of the Church of England have seldom, if ever, been urged by sounder reasoning, or in more eloquent language than is to be found in the passages which we extract.

“ Let us look to a more direct and positive advantage of a Ministry widely and uniformly distributed like ours ; let us endeavour to estimate its services in dispersing knowledge throughout the land: This, indeed, has been a signal and honourable feature in the Christian Ministry at all times. It is well known that, in the darkest ages, the cloister was the only sanctuary to which learning could flee for security and protection. But, although the ecclesiastics were themselves the sole possessors of any knowledge, they had no churlish desire to withhold it from others. They appropriated a large share of their revenues to its maintenance and propagation; and, on its revival, they nurtured and sustained it with parental care. These, however, are matters of familiar and recognised history, on which I need not dwell. I would come down to more recent times, and point out that, in the long doubted and still agitated question of imparting instruction to the lower orders, the national Priesthood have manfully and firmly taken the part which became them. When no instruction was given but by the desultory and uncombined efforts of individuals, they were the foremost in making those efforts ; and, when a more organized system of education was devised, they were its first movers, and are still its steadiest supporters. It is by them that schools have been founded and administered ; it is they, who are prodigal of their own means, and are instant in season, out of season, in soliciting from others the funds necessary to support them ; while they studiously build all their instructions on the basis of sound religion, and follow up their lessons by arrangements, whereby not the poorest cottage need be unfurnished with its Bible and its Prayer-book, and whereby books of amusement as well as of edification and piety may circulate from hand to hand, and be read by the cheerful blaze of every hearth throughout the land. Neither do the ebbs and flows of popular opinion, the varying favour or disfavour with which the subject is regarded, or even the occasional aberrations and abuses of education, make them *weary in well doing*, or divert them from a steady obedience to the Divine word, which bids *them suffer the little children to come unto Christ*, and which pronounces, *that the soul be without knowledge, it is not good*.

“ But, when I declare the good offices of the Pastors of our Church toward the poor, I must not confine myself to their labours in the work of education. And much may be added under this head, even while I still abstain from speaking of their high and spiritual functions in offering up the prayers of the congregation,—in expounding the Word of God,—in administering the blessed sacraments—in catechizing the

young,—and praying with the aged and infirm. These ministrations, while they are beyond all price in the sight of those who are taught of the Spirit of God, must, in order to be estimated at their due value, be *spiritually discerned*. I purposely bring down my description to the apprehension of the most earthly-minded. I would *write it, and make it plain upon the tables, so that he may run that readeth*. Thus, even as a temporal consideration, I request you to note that, in the retired villages of our land, the Pastor is often the only resident raised above the lowest rank of society. In such a situation, he becomes a source of civilization and refinement to those around him. His simple and unpretending, yet more polished, manners,—his mansion with its modest ornaments,—his garden tended and decked by the hand of taste,—these impart some relish for improvement among his poorer and ruder neighbours. But farther, he is ever at hand to relieve, to instruct, to advise, and to console his flock. His purse, scanty as it often is, administers to their temporal wants; and he is yet more their benefactor by organizing and conducting plans more systematically framed for their relief. His influence may arrest the heavy arm, or soften the hard heart, that would oppress them. His superior knowledge guides them through difficulties, where no other friend is near to give them counsel. His authority composes their little feuds and jealousies. His words of sympathy and consolation soothe their distresses. His vigilant eye marks their first deviations from rectitude, and brings back the yet unhardened and reclaimable transgressor into the path of innocence. Even in their bodily ailments, his simple science, and his yet simpler store of medicine, may arrest the progress of disease and avert death. And, as the Reformation has repealed the unscriptural rule, that made celibacy compulsory on the clergy, he is, in the great majority of instances, aided by a partner, whose co-operation is by so much the more valuable, as her habits qualify her for every task of gentleness and mercy, more especially when she has to deal with the sick or the afflicted, the ignorant or the vicious, of her own sex.”—p. 14—17.

“Why do I dwell on topics, like this? Is it my wish to lay undue stress on the question of the temporalities of the Church, and to argue as if our sole care were to defend and retain them? God is my witness that such is not my thought. But the subject before us naturally directs our attention toward the state and condition of the Church, as touching worldly things. And in times when a torrent of obloquy is directed against the national Clergy;—when, in order to make them more obnoxious to envy, their property is first grossly exaggerated, and then held up as a prey to the cupidity of the greedy, and the rapacity of the necessitous;—at such a time, it cannot misbecome us to seize any legitimate occasion to maintain our cause. It would be unworthy of myself and of this congregation, to seek merely to swell a collection on a temporary occasion. I aim at a higher and more permanent good. I would endeavour to infix in your minds a better, and a more just and correct view of the parties, who are thus calumniated. I wish it, with a view to the charitable purpose that now assembles us together, being convinced that the favourable feeling, once generated, will prove itself

by acts of kindness to the Clergy and their destitute families, on every suitable occasion, and on no other occasion more suitably than now. But yet more strongly do I desire it on other and more general grounds. *Let no man*, said St. Paul to Titus, when he appointed him to the superintendence of the Church at Crete, *let no man despise thee*. The prejudice excited against the Ministers of our Church, as the promoters of those prejudices full well know, tend to impair our efficiency, and so to obstruct us in the career of usefulness, which we might otherwise pursue. We are, it is not denied, the servants of One, who has declared that his *kingdom is not of this world*. We know not only that his is a spiritual dominion, instituted to promote spiritual purposes, but that the great end and object of all his commandments is to detach us from *the love of the world, and the things in the world*. And delightful it would be, if we were permitted to pursue our sacred ministrations, without let or molestation. But we are too often dragged down to earth to maintain our rights against hostile attacks. It is too often in self-defence that we are obliged to assert that the spiritual nature of the Messiah's kingdom affords no reason, why his visible Church on earth should not be supported and strengthened by human ordinances; and that the temporal property which we possess, is ours by as just, if not by as secure a tenure, as any held by the most violent of our opponents. Neither, I trust, can it misbecome us to warn them that, with the downfall of the Church, much, that appears at present to stand on stable foundations, may be shaken to its very centre. The spirit of rapacity and spoliation knows no bounds of forbearance or discrimination. And a breach, once made in the ramparts of our sanctuary, may admit an enemy, who will never halt in his desolating career, until all that is dignified, all that is noble, all that is venerable in our land is laid low, involved in one indiscriminate and sweeping destruction.

“But before I finally close my discourse, permit me for a few short seconds to turn aside from these subjects of debate and strife, to matters nearer to our heart, and more congenial with our character as ministers of the *Prince of Peace*. It is *for their works' sake* that the Clergy desire you to *know and esteem them*. It is as they, *who labour among you, and admonish you, and are over you in the Lord*, that they ask you to give them your respect and support; and when any of their members need your aid, to extend to them that liberality, which they have never been backward in extending to others. Of those, who now hear me, there are few, that do not stand indebted to the national Clergy, in youth or in manhood, for instructions that have informed their mind, or for admonitions, that have moulded their principles, and may influence their destiny, in time and in eternity. And, with the Apostle, we may justly ask, *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing that we shall reap your carnal things?* But we go much farther. We wish it to be remembered that the Church consists not solely of the Ministers of religion, and that the utmost exertions of the clergy will be ineffectual to maintain the cause of piety, unless they receive the support and co-operation of the lay members of our communion;—a support and co-operation at all times important, but

indispensably necessary at a season like the present, when the demons of impiety and profaneness are let loose to assail, not our ecclesiastical establishment only, but Christianity itself, with a fury and malignity unparalleled in any former period of our history.—On their part, the Ministers of the Gospel, we trust, exhibit no sign that they are unmindful of the deeply responsible part which they have to sustain. Conscious not only of the common infirmities of our nature, but, in an especial manner, of his own unworthiness, he, who now addresses you, is well aware how utterly misplaced and unseemly is all vain boasting; and that *not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth*. But, even here, in the awful presence in which he now stands, he will venture to assert what he knows may be asserted with truth. He knows the spirit that animates the great body of his brethren. He knows how many, in the shade of retirement, unnoticed by a giddy and censorious world, devote all the energies of their mind and body to their sacred calling. He knows how many will *very gladly spend and be spent* in the service of the *Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep*. He knows that, if there be blemishes in our Establishment, none than they more ardently wish them to be rectified; if any stains pollute the pure robe of the Church, none than they more fervently pray that they may be wiped out. He knows also the improvements—the unforced, the spontaneous improvements—which are daily taking effect within their temple; and the tendencies and dispositions to yet better things, that are steadily and vigorously developing themselves. And, finally, he feels assured that if a gracious Providence shall bless our land with peace from without and tranquillity from within; if the Shepherds and Watchmen of our Israel are permitted to pursue their labours of love without interruption;—it is their dearest hope, it is their first and warmest prayer before the throne of grace, that they may be able *by well-doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men; and that they who speak against them as evil-doers may, by their good works which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of his visitation*.”—pp. 20—24.

While the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy is supported, year after year, by advocates who plead its cause in such a manner as this, we should think ourselves guilty of criminal distrust, if we spoke despondingly of its future prospects.

ART. XIII.—*Duty of contending for the Faith. A Sermon preached in the Temple Church, on Sunday the 22d of January, 1832. By Christopher Benson, M.A. Master of the Temple. Published at the Request of some of the Congregation. London: Baldwin and Cradock. 1832.*

It can hardly be necessary to call the attention of our readers to this excellent discourse. Mr. Benson's character is too firmly established, and too universally known, to require the humble

tribute of our praise. But single sermons do not always penetrate as deeply as could be desired, and we offer copious extracts from the one which is now before us for the benefit of all into whose hands it has not yet fallen. We are confident that they will thank us for so doing.

The Preacher introduces his subject in the following terms :

“ Since those days how much more extensively has the Word of God been corrupted and obscured ! Since those days how much more languid has become the zeal of many ! If, then, it was ‘ needful ’ in those early days to call upon the slumbering Christians to awake and arise, or be for ever fallen from the truth and righteousness of the Gospel, still more so is it now. Now the forms of error are multiplied, the force of the corrupters and their boldness mightily increased. Now, also, men are not only languid from ignorance, or from idleness, or from carelessness in the defence and maintenance of what they believe to be the truth, but they profess to be lukewarm upon very principle : they found their indifference upon reasoning, and regard it as the mark of toleration and the result of a philosophic spirit, guided by justice and expediency in all its views. To treat all forms of Christianity alike, and to admit into the most intimate bonds of fellowship those whose errors we profess to condemn as fatal, and whose opinions, if they were unhappily to prevail, we acknowledge would end in the triumph of falsehood and the persecution of truth, this is regarded by many as the soundest policy. The patrons of the most evil doctrines—the members of the most intolerant or misguided sects—we think ourselves not only authorized, but bound to unite with them in all things : we shower down on them the same favours ; we intrust to them the same confidence and power ; we give to them, in every instance, the same encouragement as others. In nothing do we deem it prudent to mark openly and decidedly our disapprobation of their views.

“ Now, if this be indeed the just method of fulfilling the direction of the Apostle, and contending for the truth ; or, if this be the method in which he intended us to contend for it ; or, if ‘ the faith which was once delivered to the saints,’ have grown, through time, so obscured and uncertain that we can no longer ascertain it ; or, if the mistakes which we think that we can perceive in others, be indeed, in our opinion, so slight and insignificant as to make it needless to insist on them with earnestness, because in no way injurious to the essentials of religion and the moral conduct of man, then indeed it may, in every one of these cases, be well for us, and right for us, and wise and holy in us, to look upon each error with an indifferent eye. But if there be any method by which we can safely be led to a knowledge, or a firm persuasion, with regard to the real nature of that ‘ faith which was once delivered to the saints ;’ if we think that the religious differences which subsist between us and others, are such as nearly to affect the foundations, or even the welfare of Christianity, and if we find that the contest for the faith to which we are called, is something very distinct from that lukewarmness which the philosophic Christian adorns with the name of Toleration,

and that indifference springs almost universally from a contempt for all the peculiarities of the Gospel, upon which men hold such varying sentiments,—then assuredly we must feel the necessity of changing our conduct, and taking upon us a new and more energetic spirit.”—pp. 2—5.

The nature and extent of Christian liberty is thus described :

“ Upon every point, it is undoubtedly to be allowed, that no man can, perhaps, assume that he is altogether pure and free from the slightest deviation from the mind of the Spirit, as it was intended to be revealed to us in the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. There are several things, so mysteriously delivered, or so inadequately developed, in the Bible, that the minds of the most intelligent and exercised in the practice of reasoning may yet differ in the conclusions at which they arrive. There are difficulties, there are obscurities, in the Word of God, which understandings of the highest order cannot penetrate, and the most extensive knowledge cannot altogether illuminate. There are sublimities, which, perhaps, man was never intended to comprehend in this imperfect and probationary scene, and whose full and satisfactory elucidation is reserved as one of the pleasures and the recompenses of the faithful Christian in that future and more exalted state of being, where, instead of seeing but in part, and, ‘ as through a glass, darkly,’ he will be permitted to behold the glories and grandeurs of divinity with open face, and know the depths and heights of all that now baffles his faculties, even whilst it excites his curiosity—recedes as he advances, and rises as he soars. On points like these, we must freely confess, that a manifest presumption lies with those who pretend to define what it has pleased the wisdom of God to leave indefinite, and to determine what he has as evidently left undetermined. Therefore, on all such points, it is indeed the highest wisdom, and the bounden duty of the sincerest and most energetic Christian to abstain from any fixed opinion, and to discourage, by his own utter indifference to the loud polemics of the heated and overbearing bigot, every attempt to burthen the consciences of men by demanding their assent, upon the peril of salvation, to that which no man hath seen, or can see, or say to be an undoubted portion of that creed which was delivered to the keeping of the primitive Church by those inspired Apostles, whose spiritual infallibility no deception could reach.

“ But, besides the mysterious matter of the Scriptures, there are several other doctrines upon which many different opinions may be innocently entertained, and upon which a comparative indifference is both justifiable and wise. I speak of the mere circumstantialia of religion, upon which men may hold very varying sentiments, and yet agree upon the essential principles of Christianity, and leave the foundations of the Gospel uninjured, and all its saving and sanctifying powers untouched. When men, in their vanity, or pride, or intolerance, will insist with obstinacy upon their own notions concerning the forms of ecclesiastical discipline, or the mode of celebrating any particular rite, or concerning the hour at which the Lord Jesus was crucified, or concerning any other matter in which the living holiness and dying peace of the believer are not

intimately involved; and when they will elevate their own sentiments, however just and incontrovertible, into a creed, to be held upon the pain of everlasting damnation—it is well, in such case, to meet and correct such overweening and oppressive contests by the effectual weapon of an absolute indifference, and to follow in silence the dictates of our own conscience, or the custom of our own Church. Thus far, then, we admit that the Apostle's exhortation, 'to contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered to the saints,' neither can nor ought to be enforced. Upon the deep things of God the true faith cannot always accurately be ascertained, and therefore a modest hesitation becomes all men, and a proud dogmatism should be checked by indifference. Upon points which are not absolutely essential to salvation it is not indispensable that the faith should be accurately ascertained, and therefore the utmost latitude should be allowed to those who conscientiously differ, and authority should bind no needless burthen upon the mind or heart."—p. 7—10.

Mr. Benson appeals to us as Churchmen, in the following passage, and then having briefly enumerated the doctrines of the Church, asks which of them can be safely overlooked.

"I take it for granted that I am addressing a congregation of members of the established Church, men professing its creed and submitting to its discipline. If such be in reality your character and your sentiments, you must acquiesce in all the leading articles which the established Church has laid down for the regulation of our belief and practice. Into the depth of every doctrine which she has proclaimed you may not have had either the leisure or the inclination to penetrate. Every peculiarity of expression which she has adopted to announce her doctrines you may not have studied with such accuracy, as altogether to be persuaded that it is the best or the only one which, with propriety, might be used. Upon the minor controversies which she has endeavoured to settle by the authority of her decisions, you may not have deemed it necessary to speculate. But whoever assumes to himself the name of a Member of the Church of England, and a follower of her views, must necessarily be regarded as conceiving her to be undoubtedly true in all her fundamental doctrines, and holding unblemished and undiminished in every material point "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." Let us, then, for a moment contemplate this faith, in the picture which has been drawn of its more characteristic lineaments by our wise and holy reformers, who gave testimony in the sufferings of a cruel death to their confidence in the truth of those doctrines which they had searched out during the labours of a studious, and preached amidst the dangers and distractions of a busy life."—p. 16.

"Have I enumerated in this catalogue of our Church's doctrines, any single doctrine which every member of her communion does not recognise as her's, and does not acknowledge to be essential? He who sets at nought the majesty of the Almighty Father—controverts his existence, and scoffs at his Providence—does not he lay a scheme for freeing men from every moral responsibility, and open wide the gates of the temple

of Satan, that sin, and death, and sorrow may come forth and make the world the habitation of their gloomy throne? He who confesses the Father, yet denies the Son, does not he, in the opinion of every Christian at heart, make the Father a liar, who has approved and owned Christ Jesus for his Son? He who, under the pretence of a voluntary humility, presumes to pray to and to rest upon the mediation of angels and of saints—nay, I might almost say of sinners and the murderers of saints—does not he violate and offend against the unity of the only Mediator, as the blind idolater has already offended against the unity of the self-existent God? He who takes his good works for his helmet of salvation, and counts the blood of the covenant, wherewith alone we of the atonement believe that we can be sprinkled unto cleanness, to be an inefficient and unprofitable thing for the remission of sins, does not he, must not he, in our sober sentiments, be casting away his only refuge from damnation and despair, and doing despite to God's revealed redemption? Lastly, he who proudly rests upon the sufficiency of his own moral powers, and neither feels the necessity nor prays for the assistance of the Holy Spirit to break the bonds of iniquity, and lead him into the paths of obedience,—does not he violate one of the most solemn of our blessed Lord's commandments, and throw away his only hope of triumph over the lusts of the eye and of the flesh? Assuredly, if we hold these doctrines at all, we must confess their undeniable weight, their unutterable dignity, and tremble at every heresy which lifts up its voice against their verity, and deem it a primary obligation, which we owe to our religion and our Redeemer, to maintain them whole and undefiled. I say, then, brethren, that these are the leading outlines of that faith which we, who are of the Church of England, must necessarily and firmly be persuaded in our minds to contain the essential and fundamental articles of that 'faith which was once delivered to the saints,' and which are so paramount in influence and value, that they ought to be defended with all our vigour, as they are believed with all our heart. You cannot, therefore, as members of the established Church of the realm, for one moment longer pretend that you cannot discover that faith for which you ought to contend, or ascertain whether its value deserves the contest. You know its nature—you are pledged to its correctness—you must be aware of its importance, and you cannot but confess that, whatever may have been your lukewarmness hitherto, you are henceforth bound, by the authority of an Apostle of the Lord, most earnestly, and at all times, to contend for this faith."—pp. 18—21.

Having adverted to the blasphemies which are now scattered abroad over the land, our eloquent author concludes his discourses with a passage which might alone suffice to establish his reputation as a scribe well furnished for his master's work.

"Thus, upon the great fundamentals of religion, the duty of our contest is clear. We are not to be indifferent to what evil men teach—we are not to remain idle spectators of men's open blasphemies, as if they were but the natural results of speculation upon some philosophic principles. We know the consequences which would follow such blasphemies.

mies, should they be once extensively embraced. We know, for in a neighbouring nation we have seen, how a corrupted people—and ours is not the purest, either in its higher or lower ranks—we know, I say, how a corrupt though a reasoning people may be misled into the wildest theories of immorality and impurity, and, with that knowledge, we must be regarded, in a great measure, as being guilty of the blood of our brother's soul, if we check not the efforts which are made to destroy it. Men must think as it seems best to their ungodly foolishness—but to leave them free to beguile others, is, what is but little consistent either with the fear of God, the love of the brethren, or the honour of any man.

“But there are, besides these dread deniers of God and of all religion, many who differ with us only, though they differ with us most seriously, upon the nature of that religion we are to hold, or upon its essential doctrines. There are those who deny and condemn the Gospel in the whole or in part, and who, admitting a God and a Saviour, yet oppose us in our views of the great system of Christianity and its redeeming powers. In what manner are we to contend with these for that faith, which, as members of the Church of England, we are conscientiously persuaded to be ‘the faith which was once delivered to the Saints?’ These men profess to have in view the same end as ourselves, that is the common salvation, but differ with us upon the means of attaining the end. They either worship not God aright, or worship Him through the images of His creatures, or refuse to confess the Divinity of the Lord Jesus, or to look to the blood of the Cross as the means of their reconciliation and pardon. How shall we deal with them? Undoubtedly with moderation, and with a full toleration of all they utter in their own defence or our condemnation. But there must unquestionably be some point at which moderation ends and lukewarmness begins, or else the precept of the Apostle is a command without a meaning: and for your guidance in the selection of that point, I again refer you to your own conduct in earthly affairs. You have your creed, upon what are the just and equitable principles for the government of your native country—you cling to those who hold the same views for promoting the happiness and prosperity of her children, who would place them where they could promote those views—you would give the right hand of fellowship to no adversary of your sentiments, who, when established in power, would overthrow the principles on which you conceive your country's prosperity to depend, but would rather, in every case, as far as the rights of humanity and justice allow, discourage those who would exercise their authority against what, in your opinion, is good. If thoroughly you are persuaded of the value as well as truth of your political sentiments, such a contest for their furtherance is laudable and right. I ask only if your religious principles are less worthy of support? I ask if you think your fellow Christians' eternal blessedness of less importance than their temporal welfare, or those who agree with you in the way to attain Heaven's spiritual glory less worthy of encouragement than those who agree with you upon the way to a nation's earthly greatness? By your answer to these questions, I leave you to judge of the

earnestness with which you contend for what you believe to be God's revealed truth; if you have no feeling for the believer beyond the infidel; no reverence for the worshipper of Christ beyond the adorer of Saints; no esteem for the maintainer beyond the denier of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word; and no love for him who depends for salvation on the Cross, beyond him who depends on works and repentance alone; then most certainly you cannot pretend to the same zeal for your religious as for your political creed; and if the zeal you profess for what you deem the essential doctrines of your religious, be not displayed with an energy at least equal to that which you profess for your political creed, you give a most suspicious testimony to its sincerity and power. What, is it a natural result of earnestness for the doctrines which form your own only ground of hope for hereafter, to look on all, whether they hold or despise them, with an equal eye? Or do you think that truth is so strong, you are not called on to aid its progress? Or do you think that the maintainers of error have neither ability nor inclination to use their power for the propagation of their views? The serious Romanist who looks upon me as a defender of a false and pernicious heresy, the sincere Unitarian who counts me guilty of idolatry in giving the honour of the Father unto Christ, both must and will use every opportunity he obtains to defend what he thinks the faith, and oppose its adversaries. I marvel not at their opposition, and I honour their zeal; and shall I honour or praise the indifference of those who, content with a cold and languid assent, make not an effort to support their church's truth? Truth never can, and, since the days of Abraham, never has been left to struggle without human means for her defence. The family of Israel, the nation of the Jews, the Church of Jesus, each in their turn have been appointed the pillars of the Truth, and it is most unreasonable to expect, that God will either prosper or continue to man a blessing which he refuses to nourish and defend. But the fact is, that no man ever does refuse to nourish or defend those principles of religion or morality, which he steadfastly believes, and believes to be of serious importance and undoubted value. May it not, then, be asked, whether there is a single instance of lukewarmness in the maintenance of the Gospel's leading doctrines in any individual, which does not spring from that fault which the Apostle's precept was intended to correct—an indifference to all the peculiarities of the Christian scheme—an indifference, which is the characteristic feature and deepest reproach of the generation to which we belong. You call yourself a Christian, because you do not deny that Christ was a prophet sent from God; you call yourself a Christian, because you admire the morals of the Gospel, and look to a future state for your reward. You call yourself a Christian, but you pass over as insignificant the doctrine of faith and the Cross, the divine nature of Jesus, and the divine operations of the Holy Ghost;—you leave the contest upon these, as if they were mere speculative points, to zealots and divines. But what!—can it be true, and yet an unimportant truth, that God sent his only begotten Son into the World, and gave Him up to the death of the Cross that we might be saved? Can it be true, and yet an unimportant truth, that the Spirit enlightens, and sanc-

tifies, and helps our infirmities, and works in us all goodness, and righteousness, and peace? Can the Almighty have put forth all the machinery of prophecies for ages, and miracles without number, for the confirmation of these saving principles, and yet leave it a matter of indifference whether we care for them or no? To suppose that the doctrines of redemption through the blood of Jesus, and sanctification through the Spirit, are immaterial things, is to brand the wisdom of God's Revelation with the stamp of folly, and to condemn the exertions of His power for their establishment, as the vain and idle efforts of a needless energy for unnecessary things. But the time warns me to pause and to close all finally, with one solemn exhortation to cast out all unholy indifference towards those doctrines which you are persuaded that the Gospel has revealed as necessary to salvation, and to contend for them with all that earnest energy, and all those lawful efforts, which the Apostle requires as a due testimony to 'the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints.' And may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who can revive the spirits of the fainting, and give back even their lost life to the dead, vouchsafe to renew both in our rulers and people an affectionate zeal for that which they believe to be His truth, that through our holy earnestness and holy conversation, our Church's sad breaches may be healed, and her straitened borders enlarged, until every inhabitant of the land be numbered among her children, with one mouth confessing, and with one heart and one mind 'contending for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints.' "—pp. 27—33.

ART. XIV.—*The Family Library*, No. XXVI.—*Sketch of the Reformation in England*. By the Rev. I. J. Blunt, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Murray. 8vo. pp. 327.

THERE is nothing more remarkable in the present age than the general passion for instruction by which we are all actuated, and the extensive means which are found for its indulgence: and whatever may be said of the evils of superficial learning, or of the conceit which it is apt to engender—we cannot reflect upon those times when a whole life was sometimes spent in the investigation of one brief page of the book of knowledge, and compare them with the present when a whole volume may be laid open to us in a few hours, without much both of wonder and satisfaction. Nor does there seem at present to be any limit to this indulgence. However high or deep the subject, however intricate the steps by which it is evolved, some means or other are always found to bring it to a level with common understandings, and within the compass of common time and common means. Knowledge, if not wisdom, now lifteth up her voice in the very streets; and the mighty discoveries of the philosopher, the learned toils of the

scholar, the patriotic researches of the historian, the pious meditations of the good, and often, alas! the evil imaginings of the wicked and ungodly, are freely offered to the busy or the indolent, through the easy medium of an epitomizing duodecimo.

We are not, indeed, among those who would discourage this *popular* method of instruction—and if we were, the attempt would be utterly in vain. The question is already settled and far beyond our controul. That the great mass of the inhabitants of this country are to be informed and educated in a manner altogether different from that of other times,—that they are to become critics and judges for themselves, not only of public men and public measures, but also to a certain degree, of science and literature in general, is a decree which has already gone forth; and, whatever may be its results, the pleasure derived from it is too great, and too many parties are interested in its continuance, to admit of its being withdrawn: we have only to pray earnestly, and to labour as effectually as we can, that it may tend to righteousness and peace as well as to interest and amusement. It is quite clear, indeed, that this state of things has been in preparation from the time of the first establishment of the Protestant religion in this country. It was impossible that the word of God could be laid open, the right of private judgment allowed, and the freedom of the press established, without producing both the desire and the facility of acquiring knowledge, of which one branch always leads to the other; and we are more surprised that the progress has been so slow for many years, than that it is so rapid now. To this, however, many causes have contributed—the advances in science by means of inductive reasoning—the improved methods of education—the deep interest lately excited by political events—but chiefly the diffusion of education among the poor, which alone has produced a greater change in a few years than had before taken place in a century. The lower classes of society, educated under the system of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, were soon found to tread upon the heels of those immediately above them, and these again pressed upon the rank still higher, and thus the forward movement was communicated to the whole mass. Nor have the highest ranks been wanting to themselves in this general advance; they have felt and profited by it as much as others; and whether we look to their debates in the senate, or to the proportion they have lately borne in the general literature of the country, we shall be convinced that there never was a moment of our history when their talents ranked higher, or their labours were more useful and meritorious.

It is, however, to the effects of the “schoolmaster who is

abroad," as displayed upon the *great mass of the people*, that we must chiefly look: and the important consideration which remains for us, is, in what manner we may so guide and controul this instruction, as to make it a real blessing to those who partake of it, and an advantage to the great interests of the community. It cannot be denied that the change which is taking place around us is capable of being perverted to a dangerous and fearful degree; for knowledge is not only pleasure and elevation, but also power, and we have evidence enough before us to what mischievous purposes this power may be abused; but on the other side, when we consider the mighty weapons which are now placed in the hands of the wise and good, the unbounded field which is thrown open to their labours, and the high and glorious harvest which is promised to them,—and reflect farther upon the advantages which truth and virtue must in the end invariably obtain over what is false and vicious,—we cannot but entertain the most sanguine hopes, that this great diffusion of knowledge will finally both increase the happiness of the people, and secure more effectually the valuable institutions of the country.

But there is another point of view in which this subject presents itself to our attention, and that is in connection with the great change now impending over our political relations, of which even the wisest will not venture to predict all the results; and to which even the hardest reformer—whatever be his notion of its necessity—if he be honest and patriotic, cannot but look forward with some degree of distrust—a distrust which will be greater or less according to the estimate he may form of the moral worth and fitness of those to whom this new privilege is to be entrusted. Political power may indeed try and exercise a man's integrity, but it will not make it; and in proportion as he is immoral, ignorant, or indigent, in the same degree is he liable to be corrupted or misled. Here, then, is a new and urgent motive, in addition to many others already pressing upon us in society, to disseminate as widely as possible through the press the principles of religion and morality, the conclusions of experience, and the maxims of moderation and good sense. We may rest assured that if the friends of order and good government be negligent of this new claim which is made upon them, their enemies will not;—*they* are ever watchful, ever ready to ply their unholy work. Already we hear strange voices in the storm calling loudly to the work of destruction: nor are those from whom they proceed insensible to the advantage to be gained by this additional power in the hands of them whom they hope to influence; and unless their efforts shall be met by a strong, unremitting, and combined resistance, the contest, which is for nothing less than for the salvation of all that is good and

valuable among us from destruction, and of the people from themselves, will end in discomfiture and ruin.

Under these impressions we have observed, with no ordinary satisfaction, how many of the popular works of the day are calculated to forward this great cause. In addition to the writings which have for their chief and declared object the propagation of religion and virtue, there are many others which indirectly contribute to the same result, by the diffusion of sound and interesting information on less important topics. We cannot gain a familiarity with one new passage in the history of mankind without being led to a better knowledge of ourselves;—we cannot be admitted to one new secret in the construction of the flower that blooms before us, one new quality in the lump of clay at our feet, without turning from nature to nature's God, or imbibing fresh motives, or more confirmed tastes for rational and virtuous recreation: and we cannot but think that the smallest particle of such instruction, rendered familiar to the great mass of our fellow men, will form an epoch in the history of human improvement more glorious than the discovery of a thousand distant worlds, the knowledge of which shall be confined to the narrow circle of the learned.

Of such publications, the series of which the present volume forms a part is perhaps the most familiar to our readers, and not the least entitled to our approbation; for various as are the subjects which it embraces, they have for the most part been treated in such a manner as to place it in no dishonourable position among its cotemporaries. In remarking, however, more particularly the volume before us, we cannot avoid an expression of surprise and disappointment at the limits which have been deemed sufficient for such a subject. While the *merits* of "British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," are set forth in an unlimited series, while we are promised an endless succession of the "History of Insects," this greatest event of our own history, whether we regard it as men or Christians, is to be told in all its bearings, moral, religious, and political, in the same number of pages as are allotted to "the Mutiny of the Bounty," or "a Tour in North Holland." We are thankful, however, for a work on this subject upon any terms, and particularly for its having been entrusted to the hands of Mr. Blunt. His former writings, which have earned him a just reputation, afforded a sufficient pledge for the intelligence, fidelity and research required for the due performance of such a task; and amply has this pledge been redeemed. But at a moment like the present, these qualities would scarcely suffice. When interest, prejudice, and illiberality are freely imputed to the advocates of our establishment; a historian of the Church

of England must possess candour, moderation, and integrity, in addition to other necessary acquirements; and further, he must be one whom neither passion nor prejudice may tempt to write a single word of praise or censure which is not founded on the severest justice. That Mr. Blunt's work exhibits much of this latter qualification will be clear to all who read it; nor can we be mistaken in its motive; we feel assured that it arises, neither from any dereliction of principle, nor from an undue desire of conciliation, but from the noble source of Christian charity; and we do not think it too much to say, that it is this which adds a double value to each remark that falls from his pen.

The work commences with a brief account of the first rise of Christianity in England, and of the gradual corruptions which for so many ages continued to be engrafted upon the pure spirit of the written word of God. Whether the Gospel was first preached to the Britons by some of the Syrian Christians, who were scattered abroad after the death of Stephen; whether by pious soldiers of the same nation, who might have accompanied the armies of Claudius into this country; whether by Jewish converts dispersed over the world by the same emperor, at the time when he "commanded all Jews to depart from Rome;" or whether by some even of the Apostles themselves; are questions which have each found ingenious advocates; but the subject is unfortunately so shrouded in the obscurity of a barbarous and unrecorded age, as to present us with little beyond the grounds of some plausible conjecture. Of this, however, we are certain, that a Christian Church did exist in this island before the arrival of Augustin in the year 597; although it unfortunately happens, that among other circumstances by which we are assured of this fact, one of the most remarkable presents us with no flattering picture of the *spirit* of Christianity which prevailed, namely, that the Britons made it a matter of conscience to permit their pagan invaders to die in their ignorance and sins. Indeed from all accounts it is evident that the early Church received the most essential benefits from the arrival of the "Apostle of England," as Augustin is often called, and from her subsequent connection with the See of Rome. The nature, however, and extent of the Papal authority was for many centuries ill defined, and often disregarded; and even the order of Episcopal succession was so unsettled, that, shortly before the time of Bede, there existed but one canonical Bishop throughout England, and in consequence it was found necessary to apply to the Pope for the consecration of an Archbishop of Canterbury, who might ordain to the vacant sees, and duly establish the rites and ordinances of the Church. With this object a native Englishman was sent to Rome

by the common choice of the Kings of Kent and Northumbria. But death deprived them of his services; and Theodore, a Monk of "Tarsus in Cilicia," was appointed in his place by the holy see. This Prelate appears to have fulfilled the duties of his office with much energy and effect, and his character is handed down as that of a vigorous corrector of abuses.

But however uncertain the power of the Church of Rome may have been at this time, it sufficiently appears from the records which remain to us, that most of her peculiar tenets were already recognized throughout the country. The doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory were set forth by authority; the second commandment no longer existed in the decalogue to discourage the worship of images; and though the miraculous persons represented by these abominations were seldom of Roman origin, yet neither were native saints so rare, nor their legends so deficient in the wonderful or ridiculous, as to require much from foreign aid worthily to complete the calendar. The great fountain of truth was still, however, open in the unrestricted use of the Scriptures. Bede himself put forth a Saxon translation of St. John's Gospel, that of the Psalter already existed; and other parts of the Bible had been published in the native tongue before the Norman Invasion.

And now from the disorders of the Church consequent upon this great revolution, or from the dangerous power of so many Saxon bishops, it became a measure of expedience to request again the assistance of Rome. With the aid of commissioners sent by the pope, Norman priests were appointed to the two Archbishoprics and eight other sees, already vacant by deprivation or death; nor was the opportunity neglected of inculcating the Pontiff's right of investiture, and the necessity of personal homage to the holy see; and we find that the new archbishops proceeded to Rome to receive the pall. It was not, however, till the reign of Henry I. that the encroachments of the Church were established in their full power; but from this time we find it asserted that the Church and all its revenues belonged only to St. Peter and his successors, and that temporal princes had no right to give the investiture of benefices to the clergy, or to receive their homage. The following is one of the arguments by which the latter of these claims was enforced. "How abominable is it for a son to beget his Father, and a man to create his God! and are not priests your fathers and your gods." (Eadmer, pp. 60, 61.) Now also were established the profitable abuses of the Spiritual Courts, and Spiritual persons were exempted from all temporal jurisdiction; nor was it long before a haughty monarch could be content to place his crown at the feet of the Roman

pontiff in order to receive it again with encreased splendour and authority as the vassal of St. Peter. Such being the unlimited power now exercised by the Church of Rome, we are not surprised to learn that her doctrines were no longer to be committed to the sole tutelage of sophistry and delusion, or that the terrors of the stake and of the sword were from henceforth to be employed as equally effectual and worthy instruments for the "propagation of the Faith."

On our advance to the period of the Reformation, we find the general intelligence and morality of the country to have been just what we might expect from the long continuance of such a system; for what that was pure or enlightened could have issued from the accumulated mass of corruption which it presented? The Clergy themselves were restricted at the Universities to a method of education, such only as was too well adapted to the accursed purpose of first blinding those who were themselves to lead the blind. A long study of the school-doctors, and an intimate acquaintance with their subtleties, was enforced as a necessary preparation for the profitable study of the pure and simple word of God, and it may easily be conceived that the natural effect of this system was not altogether lost even upon the most sincere and zealous enquirer. Latimer declares of himself that it was long ere, convinced by the arguments of Bilney, he "began to smell the word of God," and that then only he "began also to forsake the school-doctors and such fooleries." It appears, however, that the learned authorities upon whose lucubrations, rather than upon the Gospel, the religious tenets of the day were founded, did by no means so well agree with each other as to preserve inviolate the "unity of the Church," which is proclaimed by the disciples of Rome. Tyndal, in his "Obedience of a Christian Man," speaks of the Divines of his day in the following terms:—"Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preach contrary to the other, and when, too, you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds, and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor and another that, one followeth Duns, another Saint Thomas (Aquinas), another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond Lyre, Brygot, Dorbell, Holcott, Gorran, Trumbeth, Hugo de Sancto Victore, de Monte Regio, de Novâ Villâ, de Mediâ Villâ, and such like, out of number; yet in this you all agree, that no man is saved by Christ, but holy works, and that Christ hath given up his Godhead to the Pope, and that the Pope may give Christ's merits to whom he will, and take them from whom he will." But even this system of religious instruction, delusive and blinding as it might be, was confined to the more learned of the clergy. The curates of country parishes

were immersed in the most profound ignorance, not only of the Gospel, but also of that suppositious religion which it was their office to teach: they knew not even the language or intent of those prayers which they offered in the name of their congregation. "Alas," cries Tyndal, "the curates themselves, for the most part, wot no more what the New or Old Testament meaneth than do the Turks; neither know they of any more than that they read at Mass, mattins, and even-song, which yet they understand not; neither care they but even to mumble by so much every day (as the pye and the popinjay speak they wot not what) to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the layman have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it, which, for a great part of them, do understand no Latin at all, but sing and say and patter all day with the lips only that which the heart understandeth not."

But it is scarcely necessary to consult the writings of the reformers to teach us the accomplishments of the inferior clergy. The honourable appellations of "Babbling Sir Johns," or "Blind Sir Johns," or "Lack-Latins," or "Mumble-Matins," by which they were pretty generally distinguished, are alone sufficient to show the extent of their acquirements, and the estimation in which they were held. Yet neither the ignorance nor the vices of these degraded persons were so injurious to the cause of religion as the more flagrant and influential misconduct of the regular clergy. If any credit is due to the commissioners sent by Henry VIII. to investigate the abuses practised by the monastics, we are presented in their reports with a picture shocking to human nature; nor do we need a polluted Gospel to fill up the measure of our indignation. Upon these scenes Mr. Blunt has touched with a tender and unwilling hand; and certainly, to any Christian man, far more to any Christian clergyman, the disgust which they inspire cannot but be checked by the mournful and self-degrading reflection, that these also, in their generation, were the ministers of the Gospel of Christ.

"Non me tibi Troja
Externum tulit, aut cruor hic de stipite manat."

From the state of the clergy to that of the laity the transition is obvious. Among these, credulity and superstition had usurped the place of religion; ignorance so generally prevailed, even in the higher ranks, that Fitzherbert, in his book of Husbandry, recommends the practice of notching a stick in order to assist the memory of those gentlemen who were unable to commit notes to writing; and as to the morals of those times, if we are to trust the Sermons of Latimer (pp. 18. 46. 55. 62. 66. 84), the statesmen

and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, destitute of charity, and immersed in vice; perjury was a crime which tainted every rank, and infected the breast of the sovereign himself; the verdicts of juries were obtained by bribes, and their corruption was openly encouraged by Henry VII. in the prosecution of his own subjects; while crimes of violence so much prevailed, that 22,000 criminals are said to have been executed by the rigid justice of his son. But such offenders were the natural and devoted supporters of the Church of Rome. Unlike the present times, when the most inveterate enemies of religion are supplied from the ranks of the ignorant and profligate—in those days, the greater the sinner, the greater was his cause for attachment to the doctrines of “the faith:” to the man of violence a sure protection from human retribution was opened in her sanctuaries; to the wealthy criminal, the purchased masses of her priests assured the pardon of Heaven; and poor or hardened indeed was the sinner who could refuse to his upbraiding conscience the balm of a cheap “indulgence”—that effectual covering for all misdeeds, past, present and to come.

The lamp of truth was not however yet quenched, though its light for a while burned low and dimly. In the recesses of the Piedmontese Alps there existed a race of men who were ordained by Providence to cherish the sacred flame through evil report and good report, in spite of poverty or persecution. Of these men, whose descendants are now regarded with just honour and affection by all Protestant Europe, the following account is given in the work before us.

“Vaudois, Vallenses, or Waldenses, was the name of this primitive people, dwelling, as they did, in the *valleys* of the Cottian Alps—a name which, though at first like that of Albigenses and Romanists, having a reference to the local habitation of the persons who bore it, eventually embraced a large and widely scattered sect which professed certain religious opinions, and on more occasions than one sealed them with their blood. For that they took their title from one Peter Waldo, the heretic of Lyons, as the Catholics pretend, is not to be admitted. He was excommunicated by the archbishop of that place, in 1172, and is not mentioned before the year 1160, whereas there is evidence that the Vaudois existed as a distinct society at least half a century earlier; and it is probable that the *Subalpini* and *Paterines*, a more ancient name still, men who worshipped the God of their fathers after a manner which the church of Rome called heresy, were but the same Waldenses, under a prior designation. Certain it is, that no shadow of proof exists of Peter Waldo having ever set foot in Piedmont; and a substantial difference may be described between his followers and the church of the Alps, that whilst the former assumed the functions of the clerical office without hesitation, the latter constantly and scrupulously insisted upon a

regular call to the priesthood, and imposition of hands. Indeed, the episcopal form of church government was faithfully preserved among them, till poverty, aggravated by a dreadful pestilence in the early part of the seventeenth century, threw them for resources upon Switzerland, which very naturally sent them, together with clerical recruits, (for two only out of the thirteen barbes or pastors had been left alive,) her liturgy, her Presbyterian constitution, and her cold and unattractive ritual. Among many of their tenets to which their enemies bear witness, we find that they gave no credit to modern miracles, rejected extreme unction, held offerings for the dead as nothing worth, except to the priest, neglected the festivals, denied the doctrines of transubstantiation, purgatory, and invocation of saints, and held the church of Rome (not an uncommon opinion in the thirteenth century) to be the woman in scarlet of the Revelations. From *La Nobla Leçon*, a certain poem of their own, of unsuspected authority and very ancient date, for it was written about the year 1100, we may further gather, in addition to the particulars already given, that the commandments were taught by them, not excepting that against idols, and the worship of the Trinity, though without a word in favour of the Virgin."—pp. 76—78.

There is good reason to suppose that to the Vaudois we are indebted for the first seeds of Reformation sown among ourselves. A party of these had in early times migrated to Bohemia, and between that country and England we know that the intercourse was considerable in the time of Wicliffe.

"Natives of Bohemia were then students at Oxford; and Richard II. chose a Bohemian princess for his queen. The partiality which she herself (as indeed her nation in general) manifested for the writings of our early reformer is an indication of some sympathy between the parties. The good seed must have fallen on ground prepared to receive it, or it would not have shot up so vigorously; and it is probable that the early heresy of Bohemia might help to raise up a Wicliffe for England, as he paid the debt back by giving to Bohemia a Huss and a Jerome. Certain it is, that Catholic writers of the greatest authority, in treating of the doctrines of Wicliffe, have considered him as adopting those of the Waldenses, by whatever means he had become acquainted with them; and the Vaudois to this day claim a fraternal feeling as due to themselves from England, on the same ground."—p. 80.

However this may be, it is certain that Wicliffe quickly found himself at the head of a numerous body of converts, and to their influence, particularly that of the Duke of Lancaster, he probably owed his escape from the tender mercies of the spiritual courts. Indeed it is difficult otherwise to account for the circumstance, that, persisting as he did to the last in the publication of the most "pestilent heresies," and having added to them the unheard enormity of a translation of the Bible, he was yet permitted to die in a peaceful bed and in the midst of his own parishioners; nor was it till after forty years that the Council of Constance vented its

impotent rage upon his bones. Of the character and doctrines of this remarkable man, Mr. Blunt has written so well that we cannot refrain from presenting the following extract to our readers.

“Of this great reformer himself, who so raised the waters not of this country only, but of Europe at large, that Luther came in with the next wave, it is difficult to speak. A most effectual weapon he undoubtedly was for the pulling down of strong holds; but we may admire the wisdom of God in adjusting his instruments to the work which he has for them to do, when he raised up first a Wickliffe, and afterwards a Cranmer. Had they changed places, Cranmer’s meek and gentle spirit would have been overborne by the almost irresistible torrent of corruption of the times of Edward; and, on the other hand, Wickliffe’s daring and impetuous temper, and his hasty views of ecclesiastical polity, would have urged him to go all lengths with Henry,—and whilst he would have demolished a church of Rome, he would have left few or no materials for erecting a church of England. Cranmer and his colleagues have been pronounced by our great Puritan poet, “time-serving and halting prelates;” happily, in one sense, they were so. Wickliffe would have been a man more after Milton’s heart; but “the wisdom which is from above,” we read, “is gentle:” and if there be one thing more than another that fixes the attention of sober-minded and considerate men when contemplating the progress of the Reformation, it is the calmness, the temper, the prudence, the presence of mind, with which Cranmer endeavoured to direct (like a good and guardian angel) the tempest on which he rode; and whilst he felt how much the fierce element was imperatively commissioned to destroy, he never for a moment forgot the still nobler part, how much it was permitted to spare: he steered the ark of his church with wonderful dexterity through a sea of troubles, avoiding the scattered Cyclades, when it is probable that, had his great predecessor been the pilot, he would have run it aground, and left it a wreck. Wickliffe, as a sincere believer, was naturally vexed at the scandals by which he saw Christ’s religion brought into contempt; as a secular churchman and a champion of the seculars, he hated the friars with a cordial hatred, and took pleasure in exposing their covetousness and frauds; as an academician, he could not tolerate their encroachments on the rights and privileges of the Universities, and their surreptitious abduction of four fifths of the students; as a man of learning, the first of his day, he would give no quarter to monastic ignorance; as a subject of the King of England, he would not allow of a divided allegiance in a church of England: but whilst he stood up the advocate of these principles, the impetuosity of his temper drove him on to extravagant lengths, and now exhibits him not so much in the light of a religious reformer as of a religious revolutionist. Perhaps he blinded himself to the necessary consequences of many of his own opinions, and, like Wesley, was carried further, both in himself and his followers, than he at first meant to go: but assuredly in him, and still more in his school, may be traced the elements of a character destined afterwards to attain

to an equivocal eminence in our history, that of the puritan, and the various sects which, though not fully fledged till the civil wars, were tumbled forth like bats out of their hiding-places at the first shock of the Reformation, owed their origin perhaps to this vigorous, sincere, but incautious antagonist of the church of Rome. When we see him opposing the doctrine of transubstantiation, that fruitful mother of mischief, howbeit wavering, as it should seem, in his own mind between what was afterwards the "real presence" of Luther and the "spiritual presence" of Zuingle; denying the superiority of the church of Rome over other churches, and the power of the keys as pertaining to the Pope rather than to any other priest; when we see him maintaining that the Gospel is alone, and of itself, a sufficient rule of faith and practice, and that all have a right to read it for themselves; that pilgrimages and indulgences are vain and unprofitable, the worship of saints unauthorised, and forced vows of celibacy unlawful; above all, when we find him proclaiming (though here he does not speak with the emphasis of Luther, who made this article the test of a standing or falling church,) that justification comes by faith in Christ alone; we praise the man, for we find him labouring strictly in his vocation, purifying the Word of God from traditions and additions which had made it of none effect, and abusing the people of dangerous and deadly errors. Nay, more, he might have gone further if he pleased; and however inexpedient it might be to enlarge upon the doctrine of Divine decrees,—and of its expediency, we have an opinion,—still there would have been no indication in this of his weapons being carnal, of his treasure (and great that treasure was) being contained in an *earthen* vessel; but rather an argument that he felt strongly the error of the church of Rome in attributing so much to man's own powers, and that, impelled by such a feeling, he rushed into the opposite extreme, and refused to him such powers as were his due. But when he argues that the wickedness of the priest vitiates the acts of his ministry, in contradiction to the inference which may be fairly drawn from the text, where the people are declared to have "transgressed" because they despised the offering of the Lord, though the wickedness of Eli's sons was the excuse, and in contradiction to the express command of our Lord, that whatsoever the Scribes and Pharisees who sat in Moses' seat bid men observe, they were to observe and do, though they were not to do after their works; when he maintains tithes to be mere alms, and affirms that parishioners have a right to withhold them in case the minister provokes them so to do, of which they are to be themselves the judges; and when he teaches in the same spirit, that church endowments in perpetuity may be resumed under similar circumstances by the patron or the king, thereby subverting the very principles upon which not only ecclesiastical property rests, but all property whatever, and annihilating an establishment at a blow; when his immediate disciples, such as William Thorpe and Lord Cobham, are found erecting themselves into inquisitors of the morals of the superior clergy, and denying them to be the priests of God, whether archbishops or bishops, if their character, conversation, and conduct did not answer to a test of their own; these dogmas when we read, it is difficult to separate the conscientious reformer from the exasperated

antagonist, or to refrain exclaiming with St. Paul, 'Are ye not carnal, and walk as men?' "—pp. 85—90.

The disciples of this great reformer are well known in our history under the name of Lollards: a title which Mr. Blunt supposes to have been given by their adversaries, who thus designated them as *tares* (*lolium*) among the wheat. That this sect was considerable, both in numbers and power, is apparent from the extreme vigilance with which their proceedings were regarded. In the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. the sheriff's oath was so framed as to impose upon that officer the duty of watching their conduct, and the Tower at Lambeth, still bearing their name, recalls to all who pass the persecutions which they endured. Sedition, it is true, was often added to the charges brought against them, but the fires by which they died sufficiently show that "heresy" was the real offence for which they suffered: and, although during the century which elapsed before the Reformation, few distinguished preachers of the great cause are recorded, until the days of Tyndal, Frith, Bilney, and others, we cannot doubt that the spirit of truth still continued to gain strength, both by means of the translation of the Scriptures, which now existed, and the testimony of that numerous band of martyrs who were content to prove their sincerity by a painful death.

But, although in the persons of these men there existed many sincere and ardent advocates of the truth, we cannot but admit, that, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, the great body of the nation were at best patient endurers of the corruptions which prevailed; and, on referring to a more advanced period in the same century, that immediately preceding the Reformation, nothing appears more improbable than the occurrence of such an event. At that time the Popish priesthood were in the full enjoyment of their usurped power: the people, for the most part, bowed down under the yoke of tyranny and oppression: the king a bigot in the cause of Rome, himself, it is said, having been educated for the Church—a furious persecutor of heretics—a learned antagonist of Luther—honoured by the present of a consecrated rose, and the title of "Defender of the Faith." What ray of hope could then have gladdened the persecuted reformer? What sign of the times might then inform him that the tyranny of the oppressor was soon to end? If human means and human prospects alone were to be considered, nothing could have appeared more desperate than his cause; and the more we regard that glorious change which ensued, the more we are impressed with the triumphant conviction that the work "was not of man but of God."

To those, indeed, who would contemplate this event under a

different aspect, and who would extract from it some food for national vanity, neither the causes from which it sprung, nor the means employed for its establishment, are calculated to afford much ground of satisfaction; particularly if we compare the mode of its progress in this country with that by which it advanced in Germany about the same period. *There*, a general enthusiasm in the great cause, excited by the preaching of Luther, was supported by the princes of the League of Smalcald for the sake of truth and conscience alone. No expectation of temporal aggrandizement could have induced them to this step; for the power of their opponent and superior, Charles V., could only have afforded them the prospect of that defeat and disgrace which eventually befel them. But among ourselves the case was far different. Boldly, indeed, did our monarch attack the strong holds of Papal power; but he fought not in the cause of truth, but of passions stronger and more odious even than bigotry itself. The tedium of a long marriage was sufficient to annul the authority of a Pope who could refuse to unloose its bonds: the unbounded lust of power placed the king in his vacant seat as Head of the English Church: the claims of an exchequer, exhausted by the most dissolute extravagance, overthrew and spoiled the monasteries. Such are the transactions, and such the motives which have gained for this prince the reputation of a great Reformer—and he who is said to have boasted, “that he had never spared a man in his anger or a woman in his lust,” was made, even by the force of these very passions, the unconscious founder of a pure and Apostolic Church, adorned, but by other hands, and in later days, with the unfading beauties of Christian truth and Christian liberty. Upon the base of this glorious monument we read the name of “Henry,” but with it are inscribed the hateful words “Lust,” “Rapine,” and “Oppression.” To such, therefore, as may seek in this history for records of human achievement, it offers indeed no flattering picture; but to the pious mind it presents the joyful reflection, that the work was His alone who can bring good out of evil, and “cause even the wrath of man to praise Him.” Nor will the lesson be lost upon our Church, if only it shall tend to remind her members, that it is not the protection of any earthly powers, but the purity of her own doctrines, and the example of her own professors, which, under God, will ever constitute her highest glory, as they will her only certain and enduring strength.

That something, however, of a purer doctrine was gained, even under this monarch, cannot be denied. Many treatises were set forth by authority, each containing a modification of some of the tenets of Rome. Of such the most remarkable are the articles agreed upon in convocation, and published by the king's autho-

† rity in the year 1536; wherein the three creeds alone are recognised as the rule of faith, the doctrine of merit is denied, and the glory given to Christ only.—Still, however, even here, images, prayers to the Saints, and auricular confession, with the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, are sanctioned with all their former authority.—Nor, while the faith of the Church was guarded with so much care, was her discipline altogether neglected. Injunctions to the clergy were published by Cromwell in the king's name, by which they were required, among other things, “to make or cause to be made in their churches one sermon every quarter of the year at least,” and in no case to resort, at unseasonable hours, to taverns and alehouses for the sake of drinking, or riot, or gambling. But the following “injunction” comprises that for which we are chiefly indebted to the transactions of this reign: “Item, that he shall provide on this side the feast of ——— next coming one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that he have the care of, whereas your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it.”

† Such was a promising commencement, but from this point no progress was made during the life of Henry. For the Bible was soon banished again from the Church, and soon was passed the act of the six articles, by which, if any denied the “real presence” at the sacrament of the altar, he was adjudged to be a heretic, and condemned to suffer death by burning; if any affirmed that the communion was to be taken in both kinds, or that priests might marry, or that vows of chastity were not perpetually binding, or that private masses were not effectual, or that auricular confession was not necessary, they were to be hanged as felons; and in both cases their goods were forfeited to the king. Commissioners were appointed in every county to discover and apprehend all offenders against this act, that none who were guilty might escape. Upon the subject of this atrocious law, the following extract is taken from a letter of a member of the House of Peers, (Strype's Cranmer, App. No. XXVI.,) which, were it not the effusion of an exulting Papist, might seem intended to convey some bitter scoff. “I assure you never prince showed himself so wise a man, so well learned, and so Catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament; with my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect that we shall have an act of parliament so spiritual, that I think none shall dare to say in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration; nor that a priest may have a wife; nor that it is necessary to receive our Maker in both kinds; nor

that private masses should not be said as they have been; nor that it is not necessary to have auricular confession. Finally, all in England have cause to thank God, and most heartily to rejoice at the king's most godly proceedings." The persecutions which followed, to accomplish the devout predictions of this writer, are but too well known, and we turn from them with relief to better men and brighter days.

The restraints under which the truth had so long laboured, were removed by the death of Henry. To his youthful successor, guided by the propitious influence of Cranmer, we owe the real establishment of the Reformation; and it was during the short reign of this prince that the Church of England was placed upon the basis, which, with two brief intermissions, has supported it for the space of three centuries. The forms of doctrine and of prayer, by which our National Church was thus firmly established, have been deemed worthy of a chapter in Mr. Blunt's work; and the subject is so interesting in itself, and is treated by the writer with so much learning and ability, that the following extracts, which we have in vain endeavoured to abridge, will not, we think, be ungrateful to our readers.

"The first of these successive publications, by the circulation of which Cranmer built up the faith of his country, was *Erasmus' Paraphrase of the New Testament*, translated into English, a copy of which, as well as of the Bible, was to be set up in every Parish Church; the next a *volume of Homilies*, twelve in number."
 "Soon after this, in the year 1548, was published *Cranmer's Catechism*, as it was called, it being said in the title page to be 'set forth' by him; a circumstance which led Burnet into the mistake, subsequently corrected at the suggestion of Strype, that it was composed by the archbishop. The truth is, that it was originally written in German, and was probably one of the many catechisms to which Luther's own gave rise, and by which the Reformation in Germany was forwarded. It was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, the father most likely (for there were two), the intimate friend of Luther; and might have been brought into England by the son, a less conspicuous character among the Reformers, who came to this country in 1548, driven from his home, like many more, by the religious ordinance of Charles V. known by the name of the *Interim*. From the Latin it was turned into English, faithfully for the most part, by some hand of Cranmer's own choosing, perhaps by Rowland Taylor the martyr, of glorious memory, then one of his chaplains. It is drawn up on the same plan as the Bishops' Book and the King's Book, which had preceded it; being an exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. As Cranmer prefixed to the work his own name, it must be considered to express his own opinions at the time; and its history is here traced with the more care, because it presents another picture of the progressive workings of his mind towards the point at which he finally reposed, and another proof of the slow and

painful process through which he arrived at what he conceived to be the truth. Accordingly, in his Catechism we still find the Commandments arranged after the Roman Catholic usage, the second omitted, or consolidated with the first, and the tenth divided into two. We find three sacraments still insisted upon, though four others had been withdrawn,—baptism, the bath of regeneration, or instrument of the second birth; absolution, or the authority of the keys, by virtue of which pardon is obtained for sins after baptism; and the holy communion, which administers fresh supplies of grace to the worthy receiver, and enables him to go on from strength to strength. Of the first of these three sacraments it may be remarked, too, that the language is more dogmatical than would have been used by Cranmer a few years later; ‘those who have heathen parents, and die without baptism,’ being said to be ‘damned everlastingly;’—a phrase, it is true, merely rendered from the Latin; but the translation exercises on some other occasions a discretionary power of abridging; and whilst the former rejects the church of Rome as a church, counting it to be such only in name, and classing it even with Turks, the latter tempers its zeal with a sounder judgment, and omits altogether so suicidal a statement: the time came when Cranmer would have left these infants to the uncovenanted mercies of God, saying within himself, ‘What is that to thee?’ Follow thou me.’ Still this is characteristic of the several stages of opinion through which he had to pass. A similar remark applies to the doctrine of the holy communion, as here explained. It is clearly that of the real presence; for though a distinction has been taken between some expressions in the Latin catechism (which certainly inculcates the Lutheran tenet), and the corresponding phrases in the English translation, as though the former asserted the body and blood of Christ to be *present* in the sacrament, the latter to be *received* therein; still there are many places where such a distinction does not obtain, and where the argument itself does not seem to admit of it. But, after all, why has it been made matter of reproach against Cranmer, that he was first a Catholic, then a Lutheran, and lastly a Zuinglian in his notions on the Communion; successively a believer in transubstantiation, in the real, and in the spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ? This he was: for the first opinion he maintained when he argued against Lambert; the second, when he published his Catechism; the last, when he wrote his book upon the sacrament. Gardiner might take advantage of such changes, as in fact he did, and have his sneer; but nothing could be more natural than that a sincere man, only intent on following out truth, lead where it might, should have arrived at it by degrees, and by precisely such degrees as these—that he should see men as trees walking, before he saw them as men; and nothing can argue more strongly the sound and sober principles upon which the Reformation proceeded, than this its gradual advance. It was not, we find, without patient investigation, and the successive abandonment of every false position, as it proved itself to be such, that it ultimately attained the strong ground from which it has never since been dislodged.

“This catechism (it may be remarked) has been sometimes con-

founded with the short form contained in our Prayer Book. The latter, however, was of genuine English growth, though of doubtful origin; Strype assigns it expressly to Nowell; but the modern biographer of the Dean of St. Paul's questions his title to it, and rather gives it to Poinet, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. In any case, Cranmer appears to have reviewed and digested it, not without the able co-operation of Ridley. It made a part of the Liturgy of King Edward, of which more will be said in its proper place, being inserted in the Office for Confirmation. Nor has any material change been since introduced into it, except that the explanation of the Sacraments was added in the reign of James I., the original Catechism having ended with the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

"The same year, 1548, came out another work, by which the cause of the Reformation was still more essentially served, and the structure of the church advanced, the *Office of the Communion*. It was compiled chiefly out of the Roman missal, of which it is often a literal translation, by 'sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates and other learned men in the Scriptures,' and in its first shape retained (so it was afterwards thought) some particulars of its original, which would have been better modified or suppressed. It underwent, like the other Offices of which more will be said presently, a rigid revision by Martyr and Bucer before its re-appearance in 1552, for the benefit of whose remarks the whole was turned into Latin (so pains-taking were the founders of our church); and prayer for the dead, the invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the elements, and a certain bias, or what might have been mistaken for such, towards the real presence, were corrected, but with a delicate hand and admirable judgment, though there were still in after-times those amongst the non-jurors who maintained that the changes were not to its advantage; and even Laud, it has been observed, in the composition of his Liturgy for the episcopalian church of Scotland, has in some things shown a preference to the first over the amended form.

"Here again have we to remark and admire the moderation of the Reformers: they did not unmannerly reject those Offices of the Church which, however corrupted, lost themselves in a fathomless abyss of years, and might even have partaken of something of the spirit of an apostolic age; for though the Clementine liturgy, to which the Missal, like many other liturgies of various countries and dates, owes many of its elements, is found in a work, not indeed of the antiquity to which its title pretends, the Apostolical Constitutions; still it is a work of very great antiquity, perhaps antecedent to the Council of Nice; and therefore it is not visionary to suppose that this primitive Office contained in it breathes the language of very early times indeed, and that some of the prayers, which for three centuries of persecution might have lived rather by tradition than in writing, may be here more or less faithfully preserved. These helps, which our Reformers did not disdain, they showed themselves able to improve, correcting what was objectionable in doctrine, removing what was offensive in taste, and often communicating by some happy expression even an additional glow of devotion to pas-

sages in themselves (it might have been thought) too beautiful to touch; for in the whole compass of English literature, many as are the excellent versions of ancient writings which it can boast, it would be in vain to look for any specimens of translation (merely to put the case thus) so vigorous, so simple, so close, and yet so free from all constraint, as are afforded by the Offices of our Church. An example taken at random may suffice to acquit us of all charge of declamation. It shall be one of the Prefaces; that for Easter. Thus it runs in the Missal:—

‘*Verè dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, Te quidem, Domine, omni tempore, sed in hoc potissimum gloriosius prædicare, cùm Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est Agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi; qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militiâ cœlestis exercitûs, hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloriâ tuâ, Hosanna in Excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Hosanna in Excelsis.*

“Let any man attempt to express this sublime appeal to God in his mother-tongue for himself, and then he will know how to appreciate the ease with which it is effected by these gifted men, to the worth of whose labours our own generation is not, perhaps, sufficiently alive, in the following manner:—

‘It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should, at all times and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Everlasting God. But chiefly are we bound to praise thee for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord; for he is the very Paschal Lamb which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts; heaven and earth are full of thy glory: glory be to thee, O Lord, most High.’

“Nothing can go beyond this, unless it be some of our Collects, very many of which are almost literal versions of those of the Missal; and were more wanted for occasional purposes; and possibly some might be added to our Liturgy with advantage; more might be found in this same exhaustless mine. Here, again, let us to the testimony. The collect for Palm Sunday is this:—

‘*Omnipotens, sempiternus Deus, qui humano generi ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum, Salvatorem nostrum carnem sumere et crucem subire fecisti: concede propitius, ut et patientiæ ipsius habere documenta, et resurrectionis consortia mereamur per eundem Dominum.*’ How free, yet how faithful, is the copy:—

‘Almighty, everlasting God, who, of thy tender love towards mankind, hast sent thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ to take upon him our flesh, and to suffer death upon the cross, that all mankind might follow the example of his great humility: mercifully grant that we may both

follow the example of his patience and also be made partakers of his resurrection, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.'

"The Office of the Communion, though soon combined with the other offices, appears at first to have been published by itself, and before any other service; it being important to provide a substitute for the Mass with as little delay as possible. At the end of the same year, however, (1548) the *Book of Common Prayer* was prepared, and submitted to parliament; and in 1549 it was put forth by authority, and was appointed to supersede every other form. It was drawn up by the same hands,* and upon the same principles, as the office of the Communion; and as the Missal had been laid under contribution for the latter, so was the Breviary for the former, and the ancient Liturgies for both. In that of Jerusalem, or of St. James as it is called, and of which the reader may find the substance in a popular form in the 'Devotions of Bishop Andrews,' many of the elements of our own beautiful Liturgy may be discovered; and the volume of matter which our earlier church prayers in general pour forth, as compared with the more jejune productions of later times, may be in a great measure imputed to the liberal use which our Reformers made of the devotions of generations gone by, and to that modesty which was content to learn from the spirits of just men now made perfect how to pray. But besides these more ancient sources, from which so much of our Prayer Book was derived, a Liturgy recently drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, for the use of the archbishopric of Cologne, supplied many other hints. This, however, was itself no effusion of the moment, but was constructed (as might have been expected from the scholarship of its authors) out of the treasures which they found in the devotional forms of other days. Calvin had, indeed, produced a Liturgy of his own, preferring to be the author rather than the compiler, which he published at Geneva, as the form of that church, in 1545, but to this our Liturgy, as it first stood in 1549, does not bear the slightest resemblance. Whilst, however, the latter was under revision, previous to its republication in 1552, and in the hands of those foreign divines of whom mention has already been made, the substance of Calvin's work was printed in London by Valerandus Pollanus, his successor at Strasburg, then a refugee in England, with some additions of his own, and this (as was most natural) was not overlooked by men busily engaged in a similar task, and did probably suggest the introductory sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, which were then for the first time prefixed to our Daily Prayer. Nor is it doubtful that to the appearance of this same work at that particular moment we are indebted for the supplement to the Communion Service of the Ten Commandments, with the Responses, the latter,

* These were Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Ridley, of Rochester; Skyp, of Hereford; Thirlby, of Westminster; Day, of Chichester; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Taylor, Dean of Lincoln; Dr. Haynes, Dean of Exeter; Dr. Redmayn, Dean of Westminster; Dr. Cox, Almoner to the King; and Dr. Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester. But the chief compilers, besides Cranmer, were probably Ridley and Goodrich. In the committee for drawing up the Communion Office, there were also the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Lichfield, Salisbury, Carlisle, Bristol, and St. David's.

113 of which, indeed, are very nearly translations from Pollanus. Still the temper of our Reformers is shown even here, and that middle way observed by them, which often constrains them to quit the guidance of these foreign theologians, and speak for themselves. Both in the Confession (and particularly that in the Communion Service) and in the Absolution, which was taken from Pollanus and not from Calvin, who did not adopt any form of the kind, extreme expressions with regard to human depravity to be met with in the originals are studiously suppressed or qualified in the imitations, as if the morbid anatomy of our nature was not the theme on which they delighted to dwell, satisfied with having at least trampled under foot all pretensions of merit on man's part, and with having vindicated the *exclusive* claim of our Lord's cross and passion to the salvation of a race fallen at any rate from a pernicious height.

"The time of day at which the offices of the Prayer Book, thus completed, were performed, is not easily determined; and peremptorily as some have asserted that our morning service for Sundays consists of three entire services, intended for three several hours of prayers, and extravagantly long, merely owing to this clumsy consolidation of them all, it would not be easy to prove that such division did ever in fact obtain. Two services probably are united; the Morning Prayer, strictly so called, being one, the Litany and Communion the other; but that the two latter again were ever separated, seems very doubtful, or, indeed, that the first continued for any great while after the Reformation to be severed from the rest. That such was the case originally there are many reasons for believing. It naturally succeeded to the *matins* of the Roman Catholic Church, as the Litany and Communion did to the *High Mass*; and it would, therefore, be very likely that the hours in either case would also correspond. Moreover, in all the early Common Prayer Books, even in the very first, there is a Rubric, which directs such as intend to partake of the Communion 'to signify their names to the curate over-night, or else in the morning before the beginning of Morning Prayer, or *immediately after*;' a phrase which argues some interval between the two services, such as might suffice for considering the qualifications of the candidates, and for providing elements proportioned to the numbers who would attend. Neither is there wanting some internal evidence of the Morning Prayer being at first said betimes—'O God, who has safely brought us to the *beginning* of this day, defend us in the same,' being a phrase scarcely pertinent to any other prayers than orisons. On the contrary, there are reasons still more satisfactory for thinking that the Litany was succeeded by the Communion Service without any pause whatever. In the injunctions of King Edward, put forth 1547, there is one to this effect, that '*immediately before High Mass, the priests with other of the quire shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English with the suffrages following.*' There is every reason to believe that this was in substance the Litany still in use, for it had already appeared in Henry's Primer; but however that might be, the union which it exhibits between such Litany,

whatever it was, and the High Mass, prepares us to suppose that a similar arrangement was likely to ensue with regard to the same or any new Litany and the Communion Service. And that such did ensue is made still more manifest by the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign; in one of which the very same clause again occurs word for word, except that for 'High Mass,' there is actually substituted 'the time of *communion of the sacrament*.' Indeed the Communion Service could scarcely fail of being annexed to the Litany, since it soon came to pass that the former was seldom read throughout, the sacrament ceasing to be administered weekly, as was at first contemplated, and recurring, at least in country churches, as at present, only five or six times a-year. Nor is this all: in the first Common Prayer Book of Edward VI. it was ordered, that 'upon Wednesdays and Fridays, though there were none to communicate with the priest, yet, *after the Litany ended*, the priest should put upon him a plain alb or surplice with a cope, and say all things at the altar appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper until after the offertory.' Whence it is clear, that when there were persons to communicate (which the rubric seems to presume would always be the case on Sundays,) the Litany and Communion Service went together; and that when there were none such, still the Litany was immediately followed by the Communion Service as far as to the end of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's church militant. How long this arrangement continued does not appear; but whether from the difficulty of gathering together a congregation at break of day, discipline being now relaxed, or from whatever other cause, within the first century after the Reformation the Church seems to have lapsed into the present practice, and to have combined its services into one. Bishop Hall, in his *Contemplations*, makes the incident mentioned in the first Book of Samuel—that 'they of Ashdod arose *early* on the morrow' to visit Dagon—a vehicle for reproof of the lukewarmness of his own times, saying, 'The morning is fittest for devotion; then do the Philistines flock to the temple of their god;' and adding, 'What a shame it is *for us to come late to ours!*' as though in his day, and he died in 1656, at the age of eighty-two, there were generally matins no longer."—pp. 209—217.

"Thus far," says Mr. Blunt, "have we accompanied our Reformers in their attempt to raise up a Church of England, and to establish its doctrines. One important work more under this head remained still to be done, and to that we must now advert—the composition of a set of *Articles* which should speak with authority the opinions of the Church, and secure uniformity amongst its teachers. Cranmer had entertained this difficult project in his thoughts long before he executed it; and the spirit in which he buckled himself to the work may be collected from some demonstrations which he had previously made. The natural effect of the Reformation had been to put in motion various conflicting opinions upon matters of faith and practice; every man challenging to himself the right of private judgment, and many, no doubt, abusing it; for any principle, however good, may be misapplied. It was, accordingly, the devout wish of many of the leading Reformers, both on the Conti-

ment and in this country, that some general creed should be drawn up by a congress of learned men of all nations, which should bind the whole Protestant Church together, and put an end to these mischievous divisions of heart. Melancthon appears especially to have pressed such a scheme upon Cranmer, whom, in his turn, he found nothing loth to pursue it; for he seems to have entered into a correspondence on the subject with some of the leading foreign Protestants; and Calvin's own letters (for to him he had written amongst others) bear testimony to the comprehensive views of our archbishop upon this great question. It failed, however, as the same correspondence indicates; whether from the troubles at that time prevailing both at home and abroad; whether from the difficulty which must have been anticipated of constructing any single form which should be acceptable to so many parties holding so many opinions; or whether from the intrigues of the Council of Trent, then sitting, which, taking alarm at the projected unanimity of their adversaries, and acting upon the old policy of divide and conquer, despatched their emissaries to the proper quarters, who feigning themselves zealous for the Reformation, and preaching those extravagant doctrines of the Anabaptists, which all sober-minded men lamented and condemned, scattered apples of discord amongst their enemies, and dissolved them as a body. But, however this might be, the scheme was discovered to be impracticable, and Cranmer then contracted his views, and confined himself to the preparation of Articles for the Church of England only.

“ It is of great importance to the right understanding of those which he at length drew up, to consider the spirit in which they were framed. Originating in the manner we have said, the principle which dictated them could scarcely have been one of exclusion, but was rather intended to allow a latitude, within certain limits, to a conscientious difference of opinion, and to make the fiery scorpion of bigotry draw in its claws, and concede a just portion of the heavens to other pretensions besides its own. That the spirit of our Articles was thus Catholic, became apparent in the actual working of them; and accordingly, when the exclusive doctrines of Calvin triumphed for a season in this country, and the Westminster divines were called upon to remodel the Church, one of their first acts was to review the Articles, (a task which they did not complete, probably finding it a business of too much moderation to suit their present temper,) with the express design of rendering them ‘ more determinate in favour of Calvinism;’ and a similar attack appears to have been meditated upon them by the same party at the Savoy conference after the Restoration: sufficient testimonies these, that the exclusionists did, in fact, feel the Articles (however they may have laid violent claim to them as their own) to be conceived in a temper inconveniently liberal, and the net of Cranmer and his coadjutors to have been cast, in this instance, too wide to meet their approbation.

“ Nor will a closer examination of the history of their actual composition lead to any other result. For the model upon which those of Cranmer of 1553 were formed was the Confession of Augsburg, which was strictly a Lutheran Confession, Melancthon himself having drawn it up; and it is a curious fact, and like another to which allusion has

already been made (the frequent invitations sent to this great Reformer to repair to England and take part in building up her Church), a fact indicating the influence which his character and opinions exercised on the ecclesiastical proceedings of this country at that time, that the divinity professorship in Cambridge, which was vacated by Bucer's death, in 1551, was not filled up for two years, apparently in the hope that Melancthon (for whom it was intended) would be persuaded to come over and occupy it; the interval being precisely that in which the Articles were concocted. Nor may it be impertinent to remark, that on their revision under Archbishop Parker, previous to 1562, care was taken to draw from the same, or at least a similar, fountain for what was wanting; the additions and emendations bearing token, both in their matter and language, of having been derived from the Confession of Wirtemberg—a Confession composed in 1551, and exhibited at the Council of Trent the following year, and which, like that of Augsburg, was not Calvinistic, nor Zuinglian, but Lutheran. Indeed, nothing can be more erroneous than to measure the contemporary by the posthumous influence of a great name. Milton is not mentioned by Lord Clarendon (who forgets nobody that stamped his own times), nor yet by Baxter, whose writings are voluminous, and by whom it was to be expected that he would be had in honour. And in like manner, splendid as eventually became the fame of Calvin, it was comparatively inconsiderable when our Church was in building, being eclipsed by the burning and shining light of Luther's name; so that whilst a sermon of the latter is advertised in England in 1547, as a work 'of the famous clerk of *worthy memory*, Dr. Martin Luther,' a treatise of Calvin is sent forth in 1549, (two years later,) as 'written by Master John Calvin, a man of *right excellent learning and no less conversation*,' as though his fame as yet required the help of a herald: neither, it may be observed, does the term Calvinist find a place in the pages of Fox. And though a body of men there was in the times of our first Reformers, and by them certainly accounted schismatics, to whom the name of *Free-Willers* was given, (and a singular instance of the predominance of the intellectual over the mere animal part of our nature it is, that the metaphysical questions to which the name points should have disturbed the prison-house of persons who were about to die, perhaps on the morrow, at the stake,) still the tenets of these men were not such as were afterwards called Arminian, but were strictly Pelagian, being in gross disparagement of a Redeemer's merits, and of a Sanctifier's help, and as such were stoutly combated by the founders of our Church."—pp. 223—227.

"The true key, indeed, to the right understanding of the articles (as was already observed with regard to the homilies) is not so much the doctrine of Calvin as of the schoolmen; the controversy lying chiefly between the Protestant and Catholic, and in its paramount interest and importance absorbing for a season every other. Thus the article of "Original Sin" is urged with a reference to the scholastic dogma, that original sin was a mere defect of original righteousness, the latter being a quality superinduced, and not "the fault and corruption of the nature of every man;"—the article of "Works before Justification," with a

similar view to another theory of the subtle doctors, that by a certain meritorious meanness, *à priori*, for the reception of God's grace, the party claimed it as a right, *de congruo*, and that having once received it, he then claimed its further extension as a right, *de condigno*. These opinions, so calculated to puff up by making man the originator of his own justification, our Reformers would not tolerate, and framed their confessions accordingly. It would not fall within the plan of a work like the present to enter more minutely into these investigations, which, after all, are as an hedge of thorns; suffice it to have pointed out the general principle which should not be lost sight of in forming our judgment of the articles. Thus considered, they will be scarcely thought to determine, or to be intended to determine, the peculiar points of Calvinistic controversy either way: they will be rather thought to be composed simply for the purpose assigned in the title prefixed to the original articles, "for the *avoiding of controversy* in opinions, and the establishment of a *godly concord* in certain matters of religion;" an object which was not likely to be obtained by the decided adoption of any party views, be that party what it might; and, therefore, King James, according to his declaration prefixed to the Articles, "took comfort that all clergymen within his realm had always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established, which is an argument (he adds) that they all agree in the true usual literal meaning of the said Articles, and that even in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them." Yet nothing can be more certain than that in the time of James the divisions of opinion upon speculative points of theology were both wide and numerous; high and low church principles (as they are called) never having been more violently opposed to each other than then. Here, therefore, as in all other of their measures, did the Reformers make their moderation known unto all men, not hoping or desiring to confine religious opinion so closely as thereby to prejudice religious sincerity, nor expecting that the pyramid of a national Church would stand firm when set upon an apex instead of a base."—p. 228, 229, 330.

Such are the doctrines and institutions by which our Church is recommended "both to the piety and good sense of the people." That many have been found to separate themselves from her communion is but too true; as long as to human eyes the mysteries of Heaven shall appear "as in a glass darkly," so long will there be those who can fondly trust that to them has been vouchsafed some clearer vision, some light unseen or unheeded by others. For such enthusiasts, and for those whom either pique or the desire of change, or the vanity of independence, may have tended to estrange, our own infirmities will offer but too obvious an excuse: but to others we may venture to suggest the question, whether the rule of our faith be in truth so narrow as to exclude *many* who look for salvation in the crucified *Son of God*, or whether, by refusing such support as they may conscientiously afford to that which is the visible Church of Christ

in these islands, they do not "let and hinder" the common cause of the Gospel, so dear to us all?

It is natural for us to look with a kind of affectionate curiosity towards the persons and manners of those to whom we owe so much in the foundation of our Church, and in the blessings which under her we enjoy: and although the following account of their preaching, given by Mr. Blunt, has much that perhaps may shock the more refined or fastidious notions of the present day, it will not be read without a feeling of increased interest towards those whom he describes.

"Dr. Barnes preached openly at Paul's Cross, where he upheld the doctrine of justification by faith only (a tenet that seems to have been almost as unpalatable to the Roman Catholics as a renunciation of transubstantiation itself,) and challenged Gardiner to the controversy, against whom indeed this sermon was directed, in reply to one which he had delivered from the same popular pulpit shortly before. There is a passage in his discourse very expressive of the rude style of preaching which in those days prevailed, and which the friars in Italy, and probably elsewhere, have not yet entirely abandoned. Barnes calls upon Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him; alluding in "a pleasaunt allegory" (as John Fox expresses it—an opinion to which the priests in Spanish America would still subscribe) to a cock-fight, wherein he likens Gardiner to a fighting-cock, and himself to another, and reproaches his antagonist with lacking good spurs, as being a *garden-cock*; then shifting his joke, he taxes him with being a bad *gardener*, as having set evil herbs in the garden of God's Scriptures; and once more changing his weapon, he accuses him of a want of logic and grammar-rules; alleging, in reference to the Act of the Six Articles, that if he had expressed himself in the schools as he had done at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes. Latimer's sermons, almost the only complete specimens we have of the pulpit oratory of that time, are full of the same familiar, not to say mean, images—tales of Robin Hood, or of the Godwin Sands, or of an execution at Oxford, or of the woman going to church at St. Thomas of Acres, because she could not get a wink of sleep in any other place,—mixed up with puns the most idle and similes the most unsavoury. Two other sermons we have seen of the same date, by one Thomas Lewer, a master of St. John's college, Cambridge, preached the one at Paul's Cross, the other before the king, and both in the year 1550; and these are not much less conversational in their tone than those of Latimer. The coarse material of hortatory theology at the Reformation, and before it, imparts its character in a degree to our homilies, which, however full of sound doctrine and wholesome advice, would often not a little shock the sense of ears polite, were they to be faithfully delivered in our churches. And later still, Fuller tells us, in his History of the University of Cambridge, of a country parson in his time who preached at St. Mary's, on the words, "God hath *dealt* to every one the measure of faith," (Rom. xii. 3;) when, in a fond imitation, as he says, of Latimer's famous card sermons, he followed out the metaphor of *dealing*; that men should play *above-board*, or avoid dissimulation; not *pocket* the

cards, or improve their gifts; *follow suit*, that is, wear the surplice, and conform to ceremonies. Jeremy Taylor sometimes narrowly escapes the like extravagance. South approaches it still more frequently, and almost with as little ceremony as would have been used a century earlier; and even in the majestic and sober Barrow, expressions, if not figures, occasionally startle us, as below the dignity of the pulpit and the gravity of the Christian teacher."—p. 175—177.

"Whilst, however, we may regret the want of the nervous asperity of style and profusion of matter of the days of Barrow, we may congratulate ourselves upon our escape from the old-wives tales of the days of Latimer. They had their origin in a very different state of society, and a very different condition of the church. Something must be ascribed to the general rudeness of an age when bear-baiting was an amusement which a queen provided for the foreign ambassadors, and of which herself and her court were willing spectators;—when a fool was a part of the establishment even of the most refined households, and his uncouth jokes were paid for by the year;—when the martyr in prison could in all sober sadness address words of comfort to his fellow-sufferer, "*Green*," as "a dainty dish for the Lord's own tooth;" or to *Philpot* as "a pot filled with the most precious liquor;"—and when at the stake, not think it out of character, or out of season, to crack a jest upon his own dress or his own corpulence. Something, again, must be imputed to the circumstances under which a preacher before the Reformation, and indeed for many years subsequent to it, delivered his sermon. It was very frequently in the open air that he spake,—from the steps of a cross, as at Paul's Cross, the most famous of the day; the congregation assembling around it, and only adjourning to the "shrouds" (as some of the vaults of the church were called) when the weather was unfavourable. Latimer's sermons before Edward VI. were preached in a garden of the palace of Westminster, the people having admission, and the king hearing them from one of his windows. The effect of such an arrangement was, to divest sermons of all form; to render them vernacular and colloquial: they were, in fact, what their name indicates—not harangues, not orations, but unwritten discourses, or at most from notes, and partook of all the characteristics of ordinary discourse; the preaching from "bosom sermons," or from writing, being considered a lifeless practice before the Reformation, and a fit subject of reproach; and the origin of it was, perhaps, no other than an apprehension of the preacher, in those days of jealousy, lest he should be caught in his words, and misrepresented to those in power, which induced him to commit his thoughts to paper; or a determination of his superiors that he should be held to whatever he uttered from the pulpit, which compelled him to do so. Something, again, is to be referred to the connection which subsisted in Roman Catholic times between the church and the stage. The Bible-histories were dramatised; a generation which had not the Scriptures to read, and could not have read them if they had, were taught by theatrical representation. It was upon this principle that the use of images was defended: they were said to be the poor man's books; and miracle plays were actually performed in the churches. This ill-omened union, however, without exalting the theatre, debased theology, and constantly

justified the apprehensions which Andrew Marvel expressed in the particular instance of *Paradise lost*, lest the poet

‘Should ruin (for he saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song ;’—

or lest,

——‘if a work so infinite be spann’d,
Jealous he was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
Aud by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation’s day,
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.’

“Lastly, much of this coarseness and levity, which, according to our present notions, seems to border on the profane, was to be put to the account of the friars. They were the popular preachers of their day. Their Lent sermons attracted multitudes; and as their order had its very foundations laid in the taste of the many, its daily bread depending upon the mites which were cast into the treasury, and the amount of such contributions (individually so small) resulting altogether from their number, no pains were spared to minister to the vulgar appetite, on every occasion, such viands as were most palatable; and the subtleties of the school doctors and their operose learning gave way before the language, allusions, and illustrations of common life; and the homely story and the broad joke mingled themselves with subjects the most sacred. But whatever the cause might be, the style of the Roman Catholic preacher was extremely familiar; and this fashion, we have seen, had not entirely worn itself out in the first century after the Reformation.”—p. 178—181.

We will not follow Mr. Blunt through the persecutions of Mary or the more propitious reign of Elizabeth. Enough has been already done to show the character of his work. We have before spoken of the candour and ability which he has employed in its execution, and, upon reflection, we find little cause to modify the expression of our praise. But there are other points to which a closer perusal has forcibly directed our attention. The more indeed we consider the vast scope which the history embraces, compared with the narrow limits prescribed to it, the more are we disposed to admire the thorough knowledge which the author has shown of the subject, and the skill and judgment with which he has selected and apportioned his materials. From common hands we could have expected nothing, in such a case, but a dry summary of leading facts; but from his we have gained a narrative, fresh, interesting, and instructive, animated with new lights, and abounding with new reflections by which the old no less than the young may benefit: and while on the one hand he has omitted nothing that might be deemed necessary to the connection and consistency of the story, so on the other he has found sufficient room for all the fulness of discussion required by weightier matters.

Of the *style* we cannot always speak with the same unmingled approbation. That it is ever lively, terse, and pleasant, it would be ungrateful to deny; but it is deficient in the easy flow, the careless beauty, and the unaffected dignity and simplicity of history. It is too smart and epigrammatic, and, if we may so say, *parenthetic*; too sparkling with classical allusions, and too quaint with technical illustrations and homely proverbs. Apart from these, however, which are not constant blemishes, his style is often agreeable and harmonious, and Mr. Blunt is so sound and so useful a writer that we cannot but wish *always* to see him as attractive in this respect as he is in others.

We cannot better finish the consideration of this history, or more strongly recommend the piety and good sense of the author, than by his own concluding words.

"Such is our sketch of this great religious revolution; for which, that it came when it did, we have surely, in these days, reason to give God hearty thanks. For to the Reformation we owe it, that a knowledge of religion has kept pace in the country with other knowledge; and that, in the general advance of science, and the general appetite for inquiry, this paramount principle of all has been placed in a position to require nothing but a fair field and no favour, in order to assert its just pretensions. We are here embarrassed by no dogmas of corrupt and unenlightened times, still riveted upon our reluctant acceptance by an idea of papal or synodical infallibility; but stand with the Bible in our hands, prepared to abide by the doctrines we can discover in it, because furnished with evidences for its truth (thanks to the Reformation for this also!) which appeal to the understanding, and to the understanding only; so that no man competently acquainted with them need shrink from the encounter of the infidel; or feel for a moment that his faith is put to shame by his philosophy. Infidelity there may be in the country, for there will ever be men who will not trouble themselves to examine the grounds of their religion, and men who will not dare to do it; but how far more intense would it have been, and more dangerous, had the spirit of the times been in other respects, what it is, and the Reformation yet to come, religion yet to be exonerated of weights which sunk it heretofore in this country, and still sink it in countries around us; inquiry to be resisted in an age of curiosity; opinions to be bolstered up (for they may not be retracted) in an age of incredulity; and pageants to be addressed to the senses, instead of arguments to the reason, in an age which, at least, calls itself profound. As it is, we have nothing to conceal, nothing to evade, nothing to impose: the reasonableness, as well as righteousness, of our reformed faith recommends it; and whatever may be the shocks it may have to sustain from scoffs, and doubts, and clamour, and licentiousness, and seditious tongues, and an abused press, it will itself, we doubt not, prevail against them all, and save too (as we trust) the nation which has cherished it from the terrible evils, both moral, social, and political, that come of a *heart* of unbelief."—pp. 325, 326.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

| Preferment. | County. | Preferred. | Patron. |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Canterbury. | | | |
| Fairfield, P. C. . . . | Kent . . | John White . . | Dean and Chapter. |
| Dork. | | | |
| Beeston, R. | W. York . | Joseph Wardle . | V. of Leeds. |
| Bolton by Bowland, R. | W. York . | Tho. Stainforth . | John Bolton, Esq. |
| Cawood, C. | W. York . | J. Wilkinson . } | Preb. of Wiston in |
| Burnsall in Craven, R. } | York . . | J. Baines Graham | Cath. Ch. |
| (Mediety of) . . . } | | | Rev. John Graham. |
| Kirkby Wharfe, V. . . | W. York . | John Ashford . | Archd. Markham. |
| North Frodingham, V. | E. York . | W. Drake . . | F. Drake, D.D. |
| London. | | | |
| Great Yeldham, R. . . | Essex . . | E. W. Clarke . . | Sir W. B. Rush. |
| Harlow, V. | Essex . . | Cha. Miller . . | Marq. & March. of Bute |
| Paddington New Chapel | Middlesex . | Wm. B. Rennell | C. of Paddington. |
| Pelham Brent, V. . } | Herts . . | Henry Soames . | Treas. of St. Paul's Cath. |
| and Furneaux, V. . } | | | |
| Preb. in Coll. Ch. of . | Westminster | Evelyn L. Sutton | The King. |
| Durham. | | | |
| Dalden-le-Dale, V. . . | Durham . | J. H. Brown . . | Dean and Chapter. |
| Newburn, V. | Northum. . | John Reed . . | Bishop of Carlisle. |
| Satley, P. C. | Durham . | Jos. Thompson . | Cur. of Lanchester. |
| Winchester. | | | |
| Calbourne, R. | I. of Wight | T. Woodrooffe . } | The Lord Bishop. |
| Deanery of | Guernsey . | Nicholas Carey } | |
| Eversley, R. | Hants . . | John T. Hawley | Sir John Cope, Bart. |
| Guernsey, St. Martin, R. | Guernsey . | R. Potenger . } | |
| Meonstoke, R. . . } | Hants . . | J. Hume . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| with Soberton, C. . } | | | |
| North Waltham, R. . . | Hants . . | W. Fraser . . | |
| Prebend in Cath. Ch. of | Winchester | W. Wilson, D.D. } | |

| Preferment. | County. | Preferred. | Patron. |
|--|--------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Bath and Wells. | | | |
| Chelvey, R. | Somerset . | John Matthew . | C. K. K. Tynte, Esq. |
| Holford | Somerset . | John Barnwell . | Eton College. |
| Kelston, R. | Somerset . | W. Cockburn, D.D. | J. Neeld, Esq. |
| Sandford Orcas, R. . | Somerset . | Wm. Hewlett Trim | J. Hutchings, Esq. |
| Widcombe, C. . . . | Somerset . | W. Chave . . . | R. of St. Paul, Bath. |
| Bristol. | | | |
| Bristol, St. Augustine, V. | Bristol . . | Wm. Harvey . | Dean and Chapter. |
| ——— St. Werburgh, R. | Bristol . . | John Hall . . | Lord Chancellor. |
| Filton, R. | Gloucester . | J. Bedford Poulden | Capt. R. Poulden, R.N. |
| Preb. in Col. Ch. of . | Bristol . . | Henry Harvey . | Lord Chancellor. |
| Pulham, R. | Dorset . . | J. T. Hinds . } | By cess. of G. S. Penfold, D.D. |
| Carlisle. | | | |
| Carlisle, Trinity, C. . | Cambridge . | Edward Salkeld . | P.C. St. Mary, Carlisle. |
| Chester. | | | |
| Alford, R. | Chester . . | Tho. Edwards . } | Marq. of Westminster. |
| Eccleston, R. . . . | Chester . . | Rich. Massie . } | |
| Norbury, C. | Chester . . | Wm. Worsley . | T. Leigh, Esq. |
| Ormskirk, C. | Lancaster . | John Bowman . | V. of Ormskirk. |
| Pemberton, C. . . . | Lancaster . | Joshua Paley . | R. of Wigan. |
| Salford, St. Stephen, C. | Lancaster . | Robert Frost . | Coll. Ch. of Manchester |
| Upper Tranmore, C. . | Chester . . | Wm. Clemenson | R. of Bebington. |
| Wicham, R. | Cumberland | A. Scott . . . | Earl of Lonsdale. |
| Chichester. | | | |
| Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. of | Chichester . | George Bland . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Ferring, V. | Sussex . . | J. Dixon . . } | Preb. of Ferring in Chich. Cath. |
| Exeter. | | | |
| Ashton, R. | Devon . . | Geo. Ware . . | Rev. G. Ware. |
| Bickley, V. with } Shepstor, C. . . } | Devon . . | T. Horatio Walker | Sir Ralph Lopez, Bt. |
| Chasewater, P. C. . . | Cornwall . | C. Gibson . . | Vicar of Kenwyn. |
| Cheldon, R. | Devon . . | Rich. Bryan . . | Hon. N. Fellowes. |
| Goodley, R. | Devon . . | John Harding . | W. Churchward, Esq. |
| Kennerley, P. C. . . | Devon . . | Wm. Vawdrey } | Governors of Crediton Charity. |
| Morebath, V. | Devon . . | W. B. Bere . . | T. E. Clarke, Esq. |
| Penzance, St. Mary, C. | Cornwall . | Tho. Vyvyan . | Vic. of St. Madron. |
| Stockley Pomeroy, R. . | Devon . . | Nich. Lightfoot . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Trevalga, R. | Cornwall . | J. T. Symonds . | Dean and Chapter. |
| Hereford. | | | |
| Easthope, R. | Salop . . | Wm. Webster . | Ralph Benson, Esq. |

| Preferment. | County. | Preferred. | Patron. | |
|--|--------------|---------------------|--|--|
| Lichfield & Coventry. | | | | |
| Brampton, St. Thomas, C. | Derby . . | Matson Vincent | Dean of Lincoln. | |
| Kingswinford, R. . . } | Stafford . . | { G. S. Penfold . . | The King. | |
| Kingswinford, C. . . } | | { W. H. Cartwright | Earl Dudley. | |
| Moreton Say, C. . . | Salop . . | Robert Upton . . | Rector of Hodnet. | |
| New Mills, C. . . . | Derby . . | Irving Carlyle . . | V. of Glossop. | |
| Preb. in Cath. Ch. of . | Lichfield . | Fred. Oakeley . . | The Lord Bishop. | |
| Somersale Herbert, R. | Derby . . | Geo. Stratton . . | Earl of Chesterfield. | |
| Sheriffhales, V. . . | Stafford . | John Hinckley . . | Earl Gower. | |
| Wichnor, C. | Stafford . | John Muckleston | T. Lovett, Esq. | |
| Lincoln. | | | | |
| Apethorpe, C. and Newton Wood, C. } | Northampton | Tho. Linton . . } | V. of Nassington. | |
| | | | Preb. of Nassington in Cath. Ch. | |
| Croxton Kerrial, R. . | Leicester . | Rich. Etough, D.D. | Duke of Rutland. | |
| Greetham, R. . . . | Lincoln . . | Owen Marden . . | The Lord Bishop. | |
| Lavendon, V. . . } | Bucks . . | Leland Noel . . | Sir G. Noel, Bart. | |
| with Brayfield, C. . } | | | | |
| Ruskington, R. . . | Lincoln . . | Cha. John Myers | Lord Chancellor. | |
| Somerby cum Humby, R. | Lincoln . . | W. E. Chapman | Lord Willo. D'Eresby. | |
| Strubby, R. | Lincoln . . | James Hoyle . . | Dean and Chapter. | |
| Stevington, V. . . . | Beds . . | John Wing . . | Duke of Bedford. | |
| Stibington, R. . . } | Hunts . . | { Wm. Wing . . } | | |
| with Sibson, R. . . } | Leicester . | | | |
| Stone, V. | Bucks . . | W. Fletcher . . | Dr. Lee, on nom. of Council of Astron. Royal Society. | |
| Swinstead, V. . . . | Lincoln . | Henry Daniel . . | Rt. Hon. W. de Eresby. | |
| Thurcaston, R. . . . | Leicester . | H. E. Holland . . | Emm. Coll. Camb. | |
| Titney, V. | Lincoln . | E. R. Mantell . . | The Lord Bishop. | |
| Walcot, St. Saviour's, P.C. | Lincoln . | Simon Cha. Crook | R. of Walcot. | |
| Willingham Cherry, V. | Lincoln . | Edw. Cookson . . | G. Hutton, Esq., &c. | |
| Llandaff. | | | | |
| Itton, R. | Monmouth | Jos. Camp. Prosser | M. Corre, Esq. | |
| Whitson, V. | Monmouth | J. Beynon . . } | Chap. of Llandaff and Eton Coll. <i>alt.</i> ; the former this turn. | |
| Norwich. | | | | |
| Ashmanhaugh, P. C. . | Norfolk . . | Tho. Hulton . . | Lady Jane Preston. | |
| Burnham, St. Mary, R. } | Norfolk . . | Bernard Gilpin . . | Christ. Coll. Camb. | |
| with moiety of Burnham Norton, R. } | | | | |
| and Ulph, R. } | | | | |
| Chillesford, R. . . . | Suffolk . . | W. L. Weddell . . | Mrs. C. S. Smear. | |
| Cressingham Magna, R. and St. George's Chapel, } | Norfolk . . | J. C. Hall . . | Lord Chancellor. | |
| with Bodney, R. . . } | | | | |
| Geldestone, R. . . . | Norfolk . . | John Mainwaring | Lord Chancellor. | |
| NO. XXII.—APR. 1832. | | K K | | |

| Preferment. | County. | Preferred. | Patron. |
|--|---------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (NORWICH—continued.) | | | |
| Gimingham, R. with Trunch, R. | Norfolk . . | Tho. Jarrett . . . | Cath. Hall. Camb. |
| Great Bircham, R. and Harpley, R. | Norfolk . . | Jermyn Pratt . . . | Anth. Hamond, Esq. |
| Grundisburgh, R. | Norwich . . | E. E. Webster . . . | Trin. Coll. Cambridge |
| Heydon, R. | Norfolk . . | Evan Nepean . . . | W. E. L. Bulmer, Esq. |
| Homersfield, R. with Sancroft, R. | Suffolk . . | C. Boyle Bruce . . | Alex. Adair, Esq. |
| Linstead Parva, C. | Suffolk . . | Sam. Blois Turner . | Lord Huntingfield. |
| Stow Langtoft, R. | Suffolk . . | Sam. Rickards . . | Sir W. Rawlinson. |
| Sudbourne, V. with Capellade Orford, C. | Suffolk . . | John S. Jenkinson . | The King. |
| Tasburgh, R. | Norfolk . . | George Preston . . | Rev. G. Preston. |
| Town Barningham, R. | Norfolk . . | Wm. Rob. Taylor . . | John T. Mott, Esq. |
| Wantesden, P. C. | Suffolk . . | Ellis Wade . . . | N. Barnardiston, Esq. |
| Woodton, R. | Norfolk . . | R. W. Packer . . . | Mr. Suckling. |
| Peterborough. | | | |
| Aston-in-Walls, R. | Northampton | Henry Thorpe . . . | St. John's Coll. Oxf. |
| Pytchley, V. | Northampton | A. W. Brown . . . | Ld. Bp. of Lich. & Cov. |
| Thornhaugh, R. with Wanford, C. | Northampton | Jonn Wing | Duke of Bedford. |
| Rochester. | | | |
| Offham, R. | Kent . . . | F. Money | The Lord Chancellor. |
| Salisbury. | | | |
| Hatford, R. | Berks . . . | F. Close | Fra. Paynter, Esq. |
| Stockwood, R. | Dorset . . . | Tho. Ayres | Tho. Bellamy, Esq. |
| Sutton Courtney, V. | Berks . . . | Geo. Andrews . . . | Dn. & Cans. of Windsor |
| St. Asaph. | | | |
| Tryddin, C. | Flint . . . | Isaac Williams . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| St. David's. | | | |
| Burton, R. | Pembroke . | John Brigstocke . . | Earl of Cawdor. |
| Llanfihangel Penbrin, V. with Bronllys, C. and Brongwyn, C. | Cardigan . | Llewelyn Llewellyn | The Lord Bishop. |
| Llangeler, V. | Caermarthen | Alfred Ollivant . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Manordivy, R. | Pembroke . | J. Blackwell . . . | Lord Chancellor. |
| Prebendal Stall in Cath. Ch. of | St. David's . | Cha. Griffith . . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Rhosilly, R. | Glamorgan | J. Jones | Lord Chancellor. |
| Worcester. | | | |
| Madrestfield, R. | Worcester . | Charles Hill . . . | Earl of Beauchamp. |

CHAPLAINCIES, LECTURESHIP.

Bailey, Robinson Rishton, to be Chaplain to the Tower of London.

Beaty, Charles Colyear, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Portmore.

Berkeley, Miles Joseph, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Westmoreland.

Brett, W. to the Ministry of Hanover Chapel.

Crane, Edwin, to be Chaplain to Bakley's Hospital, Worcester.

Durand, Havilland, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, to be Chaplain to the Garrison of Guernsey.

Lloyd, Henry William, to be Domestic Chaplain to Viscount Melbourne.

Luncy, Richard, to the Lectureship of St. Aubyn's Chapel, Devonport, on the nomination of Rev. W. St. Aubyn, Rector of Stoke.

Prickett, M., to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Lonsdale.

Stoddart, John, to be Chaplain to the County Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, Middlesex.

Wilton, Edward, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Camperdown.

SCHOOLS.

Chester, George, M.A. Taberdar of Queen's College, Oxford, to the Head Mastership of the endowed School at Stamfordham, Northumberland; Patron, R. E. Duncombe Shafto, Esq. of Whitworth Park.

Cumberbatch, E. C. of Trinity College, Cambridge, to the Mastership of the Free School of Hitchin, Herts.

Ebden, J. C. to the Mastership of Ipswich Grammar School.

Manley, John, to the Mastership of the Free Grammar School at Crediton, Devon.

Mesurier, Henry Lee, M.A. Fellow of New College, Oxford, to the Second Mastership of Bedford School.

HOSPITAL, COLLEGE, &c.

Davies, William Lewis, M.A. late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, to be Principal of Elizabeth College, Guernsey.

Faber, George Stanley, B.D. Rector of Long Newton, county of Durham, to the Mastership of Sherbourn Hospital; Patron, the Lord Bishop of Durham.

Brock, T. M.A. Rector of St. Peter-du-bois, to be Commissary and Surrogate to the Bishop of Winchester.

IRELAND.

Studdart, J. several years Curate of Borrisokane, to the Precentorship of Killaloe Cathedral; Patron, the Lord Bishop.

SCOTLAND.

Campbell, David, to the Church at Innerwick Glenlyon, parish of Fortingale, Presbytery of Dunkeld, Shire of Perth,

vacant by the transportation of Rev. J. McAlister to the Gaelic Chapel, Edinburgh; Patron, the King.

DECEASED.

| Preferment. | County. | Deceased. | Patron. |
|---|--------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Canterbury. | | | |
| Falmer, <i>V. with</i> Stanmer, <i>R.</i> . . } | Sussex . . | Thomas Baker . | Earl of Chichester. |
| York. | | | |
| Birkenshaw, <i>C.</i> . . | N. York . | Tho. Beaumont . | V. of Birstall. |
| Burton Pidsea, <i>V. and</i> Humbleton, <i>V. with</i> Elsternwick, <i>C. and</i> Garton on the Wolds, <i>V. and</i> } | E. York . | Jonathan Dixon } | Dn. and Ch. of York. |
| Tunstall, <i>V.</i> . . } | | | Lord Chancellor. |
| | | | Succentor of York Cathedral. |
| London. | | | |
| Chrishall, <i>V.</i> | Essex . . . | Butler Berry . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Preb. in Coll. Ch. of . (and Master of Sher- burn Hosp. Durham.) | Westminster | And. Bell, D.D. | The King. |
| Durham. | | | |
| Grindon, <i>V.</i> | Durham . | W. Terrot . . | Sherburn Hospital. |
| (and Chaplain to Marq. of Cleveland.) | | | |
| Newburn, <i>V.</i> | Northumb. . | J. Edmonston . | Bishop of Carlisle. |
| Winchester. | | | |
| East Clandon, <i>R.</i> . . | Surry . . | Jas. Weller . . | Lord King. |
| Eversley, <i>R.</i> . . . | Hants . . | Jon. Ashbridge . | Sir J. Cope, Bart. |
| Preb. in Cath. Ch. of and Alton, <i>V. with</i> Holybourne, <i>C. and</i> Meonstoke, <i>R. with</i> Soberton, <i>C.</i> . . } | Winchester } | Edmund Poulter } | Dean and Chapter. |
| | Hants . . } | | The Lord Bishop. |
| Bristol. | | | |
| Bristol, St. Werburgh's, <i>R.</i> | Bristol . . | William Tandey | Lord Chancellor. |

| Preferment. | County. | Deceased. | Patron. |
|---|--------------|------------------|---|
| Bath and Wells. | | | |
| Farley Hungerford, R. | Somerset . | Benj. Richardson | Joseph Houlton, Esq. |
| Holford, R. | Somerset . | G. Buxton . . | Eton College. |
| Sandford Orcas, R. . | Somerset . | Thomas Bellamy | J. Hutchings, Esq. |
| Carlisle. | | | |
| Ainstable, V. . . . | Cumb. . . | W. Smith . . . | R. L. Ross, Esq. |
| Crosby Garret, R. and } Mallerstang, C. . } | Westmorl. . | Thomas Bird . } | Richard Burn, LL.D. and Mrs. Coulston. |
| Musgrave, R. . . . | Westmorl. . | Richard Atkinson | Earl of Thanet. The Lord Bishop. |
| Chester. | | | |
| Wicham, R. | Cumb. . . | Allison Steble . | Earl of Lonsdale. |
| Chichester. | | | |
| Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. of Hastings, All Saints, R. } | Chichester . | Thomas Baker . | The Lord Bishop. |
| St. Clements, R. and } Newtimber, R. . } | Sussex . . | W. W. Whistler } | Rev. G. G. Stonestreet. |
| Hurstmonceaux, R. . | Sussex . . | Robert Hare . . | C. Gordon, Esq. |
| Middleton, V. . . . | Sussex . . | J. Millner . . . | Robert Hare, Esq. Lord Chancellor. |
| Ely. | | | |
| Triplow, V. | Cambridge | Butler Berry . . | The Lord Bishop. |
| Exeter. | | | |
| Newton Tracey, R. . | Devon . . | Thomas Law . . | Lord Chancellor. |
| Paington, V. and } Teingrace, R. . . } | Devon . . | John Templer . } | Rev. John Templer and G. Templer, Esq. |
| Ploughhill, R. and } Witheridge, V. . } | Devon . . | Perry Dicken . } | Lord Chancellor. |
| Woodley, R. | Devon . . | R. Edmonds . . | R. Melhuish, Esq. Rev. R. Edmonds. |
| Gloucester. | | | |
| Kemmerton, R. . . . | Gloucester . | Godf. Goodman } | Mayor and Corp. of Gloucester. |
| Hereford. | | | |
| Peterchurch, V. . . . | Hereford . | J. B. Ward . . . | Guy's Hospital. |

| Preferment. | County. | Deceased. | Patron. |
|---|---------------|--------------------|--|
| Lichfield & Coventry. | | | |
| Baxterley, R. | Warwick . . | Henry Roberts . | Lord Chancellor. |
| Eaton Constantine, P.C. | Salop . . . | S. P. Sheppard . | Marq. of Cleveland. |
| Kedleston, R. and } Mugginton, R. . . } | Derby . . . | Hon. D.F. Curzon } | Lord Scarsdale. |
| Kingswinford, R. . . | Stafford . . | Nath. Hind . . | S. Chandos Pole, Esq. Earl Dudley. |
| Lincoln. | | | |
| Bradenham, R. and } Pitchcott, R. . . } | Bucks . . . | W. Hughes . . } | J. Hickes, Esq. T. Saunders, Esq. |
| Barrow-upon-Soar, V. } with Mount Sorrell, C. } | Leicester . . | Wm. Easton . . | St. John's Coll. Camb. |
| Bassingham, R. . . . | Lincoln . . | W. M. Newnham | Corp. Christi Coll. Oxf. |
| Croxton Kerrial, R. . . | Leicester . . | Geo. Crabbe . . | Duke of Rutland. |
| Dorney, V. | Bucks . . . | Geo. Buxton . . | Sir C. Palmer, Bart. |
| Great Gransden, V. . . | Hunts . . . | James Plumptre | Clare Hall, Camb. |
| Haceby, R. and } Saperton, R. . . } | Lincoln . . | J. D. Glover . . | Sir W. E. Welby, Bart. |
| Hambledon, R. . . . | Bucks . . . | H. Colb. Ridley | John Ray, &c. |
| Lacby, R. | Lincoln . . | Thomas Dixon } | J. Fardell, Esq. |
| Stainton-le-Hole, R. } and Legsby, V. . } | | | J. Angerstein, Esq. Sir H. Nelthorpe, Bt. |
| Sowerby cum Humby, R. | Lincoln . . | John Myers . . | Lord Gwydyr. |
| Stevington, V. . . . | Beds. . . . | T. Orlebar Marsh | Duke of Bedford. |
| Thornton Curtis, V. . . | Lincoln . . | John Simpson . . | C. Winn, Esq. |
| West Barkwith, R. . . | Lincoln . . | Joseph Carter . . | C. D. Holland, Esq. |
| West Wycombe, V. . . | Bucks . . . | Isaac King . . | Sir J. D. King, Bart. |
| Norwich. | | | |
| Barrow, R. | Suffolk . . | A. Mainwaring . | St. John's Coll. Camb. |
| Stow Langtoft, R. and } Tasburgh, R. . . } | Suffolk . . | Ellis Burroughes } | Sir W. Rawlinson. |
| Wantesden, P. C. . . . | Norfolk . . | | Sir T. Beavor, Bart. |
| (and Chapl. to his R. H. the Duke of Sussex.) | Suffolk . . | Thomas Comyn . | N. Barnardiston, Esq. |
| Woodton, R. and } Holbrook, R. . . } | Norfolk . . } | Thomas Holmes } | Mr. Suckling. |
| | Suffolk . . } | | S. Holmes, Esq. |
| Oxford. | | | |
| Chalgrave, V. with } Berrick, C. . . . } | Oxford . . . | Charles Ballard | Christ Ch. Oxford. |
| Stanlake, R. | Oxford . . . | Fra. Whitcombe | Magdalen Coll. Oxf. |
| Steeple Aston, R. . . | Oxford . . . | Jas. Armetriding | Brasenose Coll. Oxf. |

| Preferment. | County. | Deceased. | Patron. |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|---|
| Peterborough. | | | |
| Charwelton, <i>R. and</i> } Chipping Warden, <i>R.</i> } | Northampton | J. Lamb, D.D. } | Sir C. Knightley. Earl of Guildford. |
| Evenley, <i>V.</i> } | Northampton | Gainsford Smith | Magd. Coll. Oxford. |
| Lois Weedon, <i>V.</i> . . . } | Northampton | James Tho. Price | King's Coll. Camb. |
| Ravensthorpe, <i>V.</i> . . . } | Northampton | Thos. Hornsby . | Christ Ch. Oxford. |
| Tiffield, <i>R.</i> } | Northampton | Thomas Flesher | Tho. Flesher, Esq. |
| St. David's. | | | |
| Llangeler, <i>V. and</i> } Llanfihangel, Penb. } | Caermar. } | Maurice Evans | The Lord Bishop. |
| <i>V. with</i> Bettwys } Evan, <i>C.</i> } | Cardigan . } | | |
| Preb. in Cath. Ch. of } & Preb. in Coll. Ch. of } | St. David's Brecon . . } | David B. Allen } | The Lord Bishop. |
| and Burton, <i>R.</i> } | Pembroke . } | | Sir W. Owen, Bart. St. David's Coll. Lord Chancellor. |
| & Llandewi Welfrey } <i>sin. R.</i> } | Caermarthen } | | |
| and Manordivy, <i>R.</i> } | Pembroke . } | | |
| Salisbury. | | | |
| Aldworth, <i>V.</i> } Wilton, <i>R. and</i> } | Berks . . } | Henry Hetley . } | St. John's Coll. Camb. Earl of Pembroke. |
| Preb. in Cath. Ch. of } | Salisbury . } | J. B. S. Carwithen | The Lord Bishop. |
| Sandhurst, <i>C.</i> } | Berks . . } | | Dean of Sarum. |
| Trowbridge, <i>R. with</i> } | Wilts . . } | George Crabbe . | Duke of Rutland. |
| Staverton, <i>C.</i> . . . } | | | |

*Name.**Residence or Appointment.*

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Gilbert, J. | Maid's Norton, Bucks. |
| Hay, Richard John | Minister of English Episcopal Church, Rotterdam. |
| Hazell, Wm. | Formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford. |
| Maclear, G. | Chaplain to the General Infirmary, Bedford. |
| Medland, Thomas | Domestic Chaplain to Earl Gower. |
| Moore, Temple | Chaplain to the Forces at Chatham. |
| Nicholson, Thomas | Formerly Curate of St. Andrews, Hertford. |
| Repton, Edward | Chaplain to the House of Commons. |
| Rogers, Thomas | Chaplain to the West-Riding House of Correction. |
| Royce, W. G. | Dunterton, Devon. |
| Sykes, R. | Westbells, Yorkshire. |
| Williams, Edward | Minister of Hanover Chapel, Regent Street. |

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

BACHELOR IN CIVIL LAW.

Feb. 23.

Rev. Gilbert W. Heathcote, Fellow of
New College.
Anthony Grant, Fellow of New Coll.

Mar. 1.

Fra. John Law, University College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Jan. 14.

Rev. L. A. Sharpe, Fellow of St. John's
College.

Rev. G. Du Heaume, Fellow of Pem-
broke College.

Jan. 19.

Rev. John Swainson, Brasenose Coll.
Wm. Westall Butler, Lincoln College.
Rev. Henry Birkett, Queen's College.

Jan. 26.

Arthur Tho. Corfe, All Souls College.
T. Charlton Whitmore, Christ Church.
J. Wood Merton, Fell. of All Souls Coll.
Rev. T. F. Lawrence, Fell. of All Souls
College.

Rev. G. Adams, Fell. of All Souls Coll.
Rev. Thomas Evans, Oriel College.

Feb. 1.

Rev. Oliver Ormerod, Brasenose Coll.
Rev. Charles Wells, Fell. of New Coll.

Feb. 9.

Rev. Geo. Chester, Taberdar of Queen's
College.

Richard Croft, Fellow of Exeter Coll.
Joseph Bonsor, Exeter College.

Feb. 16.

Rev. Samuel H. Whittuck, St. Mary
Hall.

Wm. Brown Clark, University Coll.

Rev. W. Monkhouse, Taberdar of
Queen's College.

Edward Davies, Jesus College.

Feb. 23.

Rev. Arthur Moore, University Coll.

Rev. Wm. Williams, Jesus Coll.

Rev. Simeon James Ety, New Coll.

Mar. 1.

James Dennis, Exeter College, Grand
Compounder.

Rev. Hen. Holdsworth, Brasenose Coll.

Rev. Evan Williams, Jesus College.

Mar. 8.

Howell Gwyn, Trinity College, Grand
Compounder.

Robert Samuel Flower, Trinity Coll.

Rev. John Hamilton, Brasenose Coll.

John Ellill Robinson, Christ Church.

John Wm. Chambers, St. John's Coll.

Mar. 15.

Edw. Anthony Holden, C. C. C. Grand
Compounder.

Rev. Alfred Hadfield, St. Mary Hall.

Wm. Travers Cox, Pembroke Coll. (In-
corporated from Dublin.)

Mar. 22.

Rev. Wm. Manbey, Queen's College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Jan. 14.

Thomas Corbett Perry, Lincoln Coll.

Charles John Crawford, Wadham Coll.

Jan. 19.

F. B. Portman, Fell. of All Souls Coll.
Henry Forster, New College.

Jan. 26.

John Samuel Broad, St. Edmund Hall.
R. Phillimore, Student of Christ Ch.
G. Parsons, Student of Christ Church.
H. A. Jeffreys, Student of Christ Ch.
W. E. Gladstone, Student of Christ Ch.
Robert Farquharson, Christ Church.
Martin F. Tupper, Christ Church.
Joseph Bailey, Brasenose College.
E. J. Wilcox, Scholar of Lincoln Coll.

Feb. 1.

Arthur Johan, Christ Church.
Edward Hussey, Exeter College.
Geo. Henry Franks, Exeter College.
John Richard Nicholl, Exeter College.
Benjamin Lucas Cubitt, Exeter College.
Henry Trevor Wheler, Merton College.
James Richard Whyte, Oriel College.

Feb. 9.

Charles Hickson, Magdalen Hall.
Edward Thomas Bigge, University Coll.
Wm. Steward Richards, Jesus College.
Hon. Geo. F. R. Harris, Christ Church.
H. J. Swale, Queen's College.
John Rouse Bloxham, Demy of Magdalen College.

Feb. 23.

Wm. Fox, Wadham College.
Wm. Geo. Eveleigh, Oriel College.

Mar. 1.

Charles Duberly, Christ Church.
John Henry Clayton, Worcester Coll.

Mar. 8.

Jonathan Kirk Stubbs, Scholar of Worcester College.

Mar. 15.

John Strickland, Wadham College.
Robert Bentley Todd, Pembroke Coll.
(Incorporated from Dublin.)

Mar. 22.

Charles S. Escott, Exeter College.
Thomas Green, Worcester College.
Tho. Jas. Alexander Brown Fairbaine, Merton College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

ELECTIONS.

In Convocation, the Rev. William Fors-

ter Lloyd, M.A. and Student of Christ Church, have been unanimously elected to the Professorship of Political Economy in the room of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, who had resigned that office.

In Convocation, the Rev. Benjamin Parsons Symons, D.D. Warden of Wadham College, unanimously chosen one of the Curators of the Sheldonian Theatre.

In Convocation for the purpose of electing a Professor of Sanscrit on the foundation of Colonel Boden, after a poll of several hours, Horace H. Wilson, Esq. was elected by a majority of seven, the numbers being—for Mr. Wilson, 207—for Dr. Mill, 200.

The Rev. Dr. Stocker, late Fellow of St. John's College, to be Vice-Principal of St. Alban Hall.

Mr. Richard Ruding Stephens to an Actual Fellowship of New College, being of kin to the Founder.

Mr. Brisco Owen, M.A. Second Master of Beaumaris School, Anglesea, and Scholar of Jesus College, to a Fellowship of that Society.

The Rev. Ernest Hawkins, M.A. of Balliol College, and one of the Sub-Librarians of the Bodleian Library, to a Fellowship of Exeter College.

George Wm. Newnham, M.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, to a Fellowship of that Society.

Mr. Robert Jackson, Scholar of New College, to an Actual Fellowship of that Society.

John Chandler, M.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi, to a Probationary Fellowship of that Society.

Messrs. William Smith, Edward Fitzroy Talbot, the Hon. James Bruce, and Charles Archdale Palmer, elected Students of Christ Church. Henry Woolcombe, William Law Hussey, Henry Blair Mayne, and Robert Richard Austice, who were elected from Westminster in May last, admitted Actual Students.

Mr. John Darcey and Mr. P. C. Clough-ton, Commoners of Brasenose College, elected Scholars of that Society.

Mr. Spencer Edgcombe Ley elected a scholar of Pembroke College.

Mr. H. Brown, Commoner of Exeter College, elected to the Lincolnshire scholarship in Corpus Christi College.

The Examiners have elected Eaton Davies Denton, B.A. of Queen's College, to the Mathematical Scholarship, and also strongly recommend Edw. Cockey, B.A. of Wadham College, and Edward Hill,

B.A. of Christ Church, as deserving of highly honourable mention.

Mr. Evan Evans, of Jesus College, to a Scholarship of Pembroke College, on the foundation of Sir John Phillips, Bart.

Mr. Henry Forster, B.A. of New Coll. to be Esquire Bedell in Divinity, in the room of the late Robert Hall, Esq.

The Rev. Francis Clerke, M.A. late Fellow of All Souls College, and the Rev. Richard Young, M.A. Fellow of New College, elected by their respective Societies Proctors for the ensuing year.

Mar. 8.

In Convocation this day, the Rev. Thomas Wm. Lancaster, M.A. late Michel Fellow of Queen's College, and the Rev. Wm. Sewell, M.A. Fellow of Exeter Coll. were nominated Public Examiners in *Literis Humanioribus* and Wm. Falconer, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*.

Mar. 22.

In Convocation, the following gentlemen were approved by the House as Public Examiners:—

In *Literis Humanioribus*.—Mr. Lancaster, Queen's College, Mr. Sewell, Exeter College.

In *Disciplinis Mathemat. et Phy.*—Mr. Falconer, Exeter College.

HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS.

In Convocation, held in the afternoon of Mar. 22, an offer from Philip Pusey, Esq. M.P. of Pusey, in the county of Berks, the Rev. Edward Ellerton, D.D. Fellow of Magdalen College, and the Rev. Edward Bouverie Pusey, M.A. Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew, of conveying to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University, a freehold estate, situated at Willoughby and Woolscot, in the county of Warwick, of which the present annual rent amounts to 100*l.* for the endowment of three Hebrew Scholarships, was accepted. The following is a summary of the regulations:—That the sum of 30*l.* annually shall at first be paid to each of the three Scholars, and shall afterwards be increased according to the proceeds of the estate.—Persons under the degrees of M.A. and B.C.L. and not above twenty-five years of age, to be eligible. The Scholarships to be holden for three years upon certain conditions of Term residence, and attendance on the Professor of Hebrew's lectures, &c. The electors to be the Regius Professors of Divinity and Hebrew, and the Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic. Examinations to be in Act Term; the first in 1832.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

Feb. 8.

Rev. William Hewson, of St. John's College, Chancellor of St. David's, and Vicar of Swansea, Comp.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Feb. 8.

Rev. J. B. Smith, Christ's College, and Head Master of Horncastle Gram. School, Comp.

Mar. 7.

Rev. Thomas Brigstocke, Trinity Col-

lege, Rector of Whitton, Radnorshire, and Incumbent of St. Catherine's, Milford Haven.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 8.

Sir Jacob Henry Preston, Trinity College, (son of the late Sir Thos. Preston.)

Feb. 22.

Hon. John Grey, Trinity College, (son of Earl Grey.)

Stafford Augustus O'Brien, Trin. Coll.

DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

Feb. 22.

John Staunton, Caius College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Jan. 23.

John Hammill, Trinity College.

Feb. 8.

Edward Pote Neale, Trinity College.
William Henry Stringer, Christ Coll.
George Dunnage, Downing College,
Compounder.

Feb. 22.

Rev. Samuel Nicholson Kingdon, Trin.
College.
Rev. John Thomas Hinds, Trin. Coll.
Rev. Richard Henry Wace, Trin. Coll.
Rev. Thomas Griffith, St. John's Coll.
Rev. Benj. Elliott Nicholls, Queen's
College.

Mar. 7.

Rev. Henry Fillness, Queen's College,
Compounder.
Rev. Erskine Neale, Emmanuel Coll.

'BACHELORS' COMMENCEMENT, *January 21st, 1832.*

[The Gentlemen in brackets, or with * prefixed, were equal.]

MODERATORS.

Francis Martin, M.A. Trin. | James Bowstead, M.A. Corpus.

EXAMINERS.

James Challis, M.A. Trin. | William Henry Hanson, M.A. Caius.

WRANGLERS.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Heath, Trin. | Rowlands, Qu. | Milne, Joh. | West, Pet. |
| Laing, Joh. | Hawtrey, Trin. | Hoare, Trin. | Cotesworth, Pet. |
| Cotterill, Joh. | Simpson, Sid. | Evans, Caius | Francis, Joh. |
| West, Trin. | Eyres, Caius | Pinckney, Trin. | Lloyd, Emm. |
| Hamilton, Trin. | Webster, Trin. | Hodgson, Sid. | Considine, Joh. |
| Russell, Caius | Chapman, Jes. | Browne, Emm. | Mandell, Cath. |
| Cookson, Pet. | Ottley, Caius | Ray, Pet. | Alford, Trin. |
| Shorting, Pet. | Nind, Pet. | Potts, Trin. | George, Joh. |
| Bromby, Joh. | Davidson, Chr. | Power, Clare | |

SENIOR OPTIMES.

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Grove, Pemb. | Holmes, Emm. | Ebden, Tr. H. | Porter, Caius |
| Daniel, Joh. | Bridgman, Pet. | Tottenham, Trin. | Bowstead, Joh. |
| Maddison, Jes. | Venables, Jes. | Hurnard, Corpus | Bell, } Corpus |
| Lushington, Trin. | Brade, Joh. | Martin, Joh. | Radcliffe, } Joh. |
| Fysh, Qu. | Golding, Qu. | Ludlam, Pet. | Shadwell, Joh. |
| Shurt, Chr. | Bland, } Trin. | Scott, Trin. | Wentworth |
| Crawford, Caius | Grant, } Qu. | Wright, Joh. | Fitzwilliam, Trin. |
| Williams, Trin. | Allen, Trin. | Hailstone, } Trin. | Wilkinson, Chr. |
| Borton, Caius | Forster, } Cath. | Hirst, } Pemb. | Adams, Caius |
| Thompson, Trin. | Martin, } Qu. | Skally, Chr. | Spencer, Chr. |

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Broadhurst, Magd. | Cotton, Cath. | Christie, Trin. | *Richardson, Trin. |
| Fitzherbert, Qu. | Chapman, Corpus | Brown, Magd. | Panting, Joh. |
| Haworth, Qu. | Dobson, Trin. | Skirrow, Trin. | Read, } Magd. |
| Morrison, Trin. | Gibbs, Qu. | Upcher, Trin. | Wray, } Joh. |
| Dickinson, Trin. | Wills, Qu. | Beadon, Joh. | Chapman, } Trin. |
| Gallichan, Joh. | Thompson, Chr. | *Clarke, Joh. | Shilleto, } Trin. |

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Bateman, Trin. | Edwards, Pet. | Purvis, Pet. | Taylor, Caius |
| Cartman, Trin. | Fenn, Qu. | Riley, Joh. | Taylor, Cath. |
| | | Watson, Joh. | |

* * * * *

Ægrotat—Longmire, Pet.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Blunt, Joh. | *Gurney, Joh. | *Robinson, Cath. | Greenfield, Corpus |
| Clarke, Corpus | Brockhurst, Joh. | Bowes, } Trin. | Bryan, Caius |
| Poole, Joh. | Bligh, Trin. | Jones, } Cath. | Johnson, Magd. |
| Shurlock, Qn. | Leigh, } Corpus | Darvall, Trin. | Bogue, } Chr. |
| Moore, Trin. | Vane, } Trin. | Naylor, Joh. | Couchman, } Trin. |
| Antrobus, Joh. | Brooking, } Trin. | Haliburton, } Joh. | Postle, Trin. |
| Goldney, Trin. | Lynn, } Chr. | Langley, } Joh. | Close, } Qu. |
| Molson, Qu. | Prosser, Cath. | Clayton, Qu. | Du Boulay, } Clare |
| Greville, Pet. | Hurst, Trin. | Houlditch, Chr. | Ramsay, Cath. |
| Selby, Joh. | Carrington, Trin. | White, Trin. | Gibbs, Emin. |
| Hall, Enm. | Allfree, Joh. | Bellingham, Trin. | Griesbach, Trin. |
| Dolling, Pemb. | Groome, Caius | Thompson, Joh. | Coles, Emm. |
| Morris, Chr. | Milne, N. } Joh. | Rush, Trin. | Courtney, } Trin. |
| Wharton, Chr. | Wall, } Jes. | Cherry, Clare | Parry, } Joh. |
| Hallam, Trin. | Daniel, Caius | Earl of Kerry, Trin. | Vickers, Qu. |
| Buckley, } Corpus | Wilgress, Jes. | Chester, Emm. | Morris, Sid. |
| Stock, } Trin. | Massingberd, Trin. | Davies, Trin. | Crane, Corpus |
| Smith, Pemb. | Tower, Joh. | Graham, Jesus | Messenger, } Pemb. |
| Jones, I. Trin. | Bovell, } Trin. | Snap, Qu. | Smith, } Sid. |
| Houlbrook, Trin. | Roy, } Sid. | Gambier, Magd. | Watt, } Caius |
| Lloyd, Magd. | Parkinson, Trin. | Birrell, } Sid. | Locke, Joh. |
| Wilson, Pemb. | Whalley, Pemb. | Dicken, } Sid. | Payne, Trin. |
| Mazzinghi, Trin. | Kinglake, Trin. | Lockwood, Trin. | Churton, Joh. |
| Brown, L. } Trin. | Grey, Hon. J. } Trin. | Spence, Joh. | Bedford, Emm. |
| Jones, P. } Joh. | Harris, Hon. } Corp. | Absolom, } Trin. | Kinleside, Emm. |
| Evans, C. } Joh. | Oliver, } Qu. | Barlow, } Sid. | Scale, Jes. |
| Divett, } Trin. | Harrison, } Cath. | Breese, } Qu. | Ellis, } Caius |
| Way, } Pet. | Pearson, } Trin. | Barry, } Qu. | Tatlock, } Trin. |
| Young, Caius | Harris, } Trin. | Falle, } Sid. | Hird, Pet. |
| Gamson, Cath. | Pickering, } Trin. | Sawbridge, } Pet. | Lascelles, Cath. |
| Dawson, Chr. | Clarkson, Chr. | Meares, Trin. | Edwards, Qu. |
| Barber, } Qu. | Carey, Trin. | Deans, Joh. | Clifford, Cath. |
| Austin, } Cath. | Colebrook, Trin. | Taylor, Emm. | |
| Otley, Trin. | Ellis, } Trin. | Pearson, Qu. | Baker, Joh. |
| Badger, Trin. | James, } Corpus | Everett, Joh. | Hodgson, Chr. |
| Blenkinsopp, Trin. | Jones, J. Joh. | Knight, } Qu. | Jekyll, Joh. |
| Sansom, Trin. | Bourne, } Caius | Peers, } Cath. | Nattle, Pet. |
| Goodday, Pemb. | O'Brien, } Trin. | Alder, Pet. | Potts, Magd. |
| Hill, } Trin. | Monck, } Trin. | Burrows, } Chr. | Reeve, Trin. |
| Sparke, } Caius. | Rodd, } Pemb. | Girardot, } Emm. | Townend, Joh. |
| Whateley, Trin. | *Duncan, A. Trin. | Cathrow, Corpus | Bayley, Sid. |
| *Ld. Duucan, Trin. | *Edwards, Corpus | Preston, Sir J. Trin. | Jolliffe, Joh. |

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Jan. 23.

Frederick Tennyson, Trinity College.
 Charles Tennyson, Trinity College.
 John Henry Buxton, Queen's College.
 James Grant, Queen's College.
 James Hough, Queen's College.

Feb. 8.

George William Rush, Trinity College.
 Richard Courtney, Trin. Coll. Comp.

Feb. 22.

William Meyrick, Trinity College.

Mar. 7.

Charles S. Grey, Trinity College.

Arthur Vickers, Trinity College.
 Frederick Heberden, St. John's Coll.
 Edward Thompson, Clare Hall.
 Martin Roe, Sidney Sussex College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

COMBINATION PAPER, 1832.

PRIOR COMB.

Jan. 1. Coll. Trin.
 8. Coll. Joh.
 15. Mr. Hicks, Magd.
 22. Mr. Hammond, Reg.
 29. Mr. Bazeley, Clar.

- Feb. 5. Mr. Cape, Cai.
 12. Coll. Regal.
 19. Coll. Trin.
 26. Coll. Joh.
 Mar. 4. Mr. Stoddart, Chr.
 11. Mr. Barwick, Regin.
 18. Mr. Lawton, Clar.
 25. Mr. Brook, Cai.
 Apr. 1. Coll. Regal.
 8. Coll. Trin.
 15. Coll. Joh.
 22. FEST. PASCH.
 29. Mr. Montagu, Cath.
 May 6. Mr. Wood, Corp.
 13. Mr. Adnutt, Emm.
 20. Coll. Regal.
 27. Coll. Trin.
 June 3. Coll. Joh.
 10. FEST. PENTEC.
 17. Mr. Luck, Cath.
 24. Mr. Crowther, Clar.
 July 1. COMMEN. BENEF.
 8. Mr. Burnaby, Emm.
 15. Coll. Regal.
 22. Coll. Trin.
 29. Coll. Joh.

POSTER COMB.

- Jan. 1. FEST. CIRCUM. Mr. Adcock, Pet.
 6. FEST. EPIPH. Mr. Gould, Chr.
 8. Mr. Ffolliott, Joh.
 15. Mr. Belias, Chr.
 22. Mr. Fowke, Cai.
 25. CONV. S. PAUL. Mr. V. Green, Joh.
 29. Mr. Jarratt, Joh.
 Feb. 2. FEST. PURIF. Mr. Winn, Joh.
 5. Mr. Colville, Joh.
 12. Mr. Vaughan, Joh.
 19. Mr. Charlton, Sid.
 24. FEST. S. MAT. Mr. Steward, Trin.
 26. Mr. J. H. Haulton, Trin.
 Mar. 4. Mr. Collins, Joh.
 7. DIFS CINERUM. CONC. AD CLER.
 11. Mr. Bennet, Trin.
 18. Mr. Harris, Clar.
 25. FEST. ANNUN. Mr. Farish, Regin.
 Apr. 1. Mr. Presgrave, Trin.
 8. Mr. Wilkinson, Trin.
 15. Mr. Sidney, Joh.
 20. PASSIO DOM. Mr. Fendall, Jes.
 22. FEST. PASCH. Mr. Osborne, Pet.
 23. Fer. 1^{ma}. Mr. Crole, Joh.
 24. Fer. 2^{da}. Mr. Cardale, Pet.
 25. FEST. S. MARC. Mr. T. C. Thornton, Clar.

29. Mr. Grey, Joh.
 May 1. FEST. SS. PHIL. ET JAC. Mr. C. P. Byde, Pemb.
 6. Mr. Wybergh, Pemb.
 13. Mr. H. Thompson, Joh.
 20. Mr. Hughes, Corp.
 27. Mr. Schneider, Joh.
 31. FEST. ASCEN. Mr. Leach, Trin.
 June 3. Mr. Hannington, Regal.
 10. FEST. PENT. Mr. Waring, Mag.
 11. Fer. 1^{ma}. FEST. S. BARNAB. Mr. Okes, Regal.
 12. Fer. 2^{da}. Mr. R. S. Battiscombe, Regal.
 17. Mr. Pratt, Trin.
 24. FEST. S. JOH. BAP. Mr. Fisher, Cath.
 29. FEST. S. PET. Mr. Turner, Magd.
 July 1. COMMEN. BENEFAC.
 8. Mr. Chichester, Magd.
 15. Mr. Nassey, Cath.
 22. Mr. Birch, Cath.
 25. FEST. S. JAC. Mr. Roper, Corp.
 29. Mr. Harris, Cath.

Resp. in Theolog.

Oppon.

- Mr. Morris, Joh. . . { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Paley, Pet.
 { Mr. Milner, Cath
 Mr. Brandling, Joh. { Mr. Hughes, Corp.
 { Mr. Lafont, Emm.
 { Coll. Regal.
 Mr. Francklin, Clar. { Coll. Trin.
 { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Blyth, Chr.
 Mr. Hasted, Chr. { Mr. Murray, Pemb.
 { Mr. Roper, Corp.
 { Mr. Powell, Jes.
 Mr. Gilpin, Chr. . . { Coll. Regal.
 { Coll. Trin.
 { Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Tate, Trin. . . { Mr. Adcock, Pet.
 { Mr. Wybergh, Pemb.
 { Mr. Thomas, Corp.
 Mr. Kidd, Trin. . . { Mr. Lockwood, Jes.
 { Coll. Regal.
 { Coll. Trin.
 Mr. Maul, Chr. . . { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Blackburne, Ch.
 { Mr. Farish, Regin.

Resp. in Jur. Civ.

Oppon.

- Mr. Dugmore, Cai. { Mr. Hanbury, Emm.
 { Mr. Bennett, Emm.

Resp. in Medic.

Oppon.

- Mr. Wilmot, Cai. { Mr. Gibbes, Down.
 { Mr. Borrett, Cai.

CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

FIRST CLASS.

| Ds. | | Ds. | |
|-------------------|--|---------------------|--|
| Lushington, Trin. | | Broadhurst, Magd. | |
| Shilleto, Trin. | | Alford, Trin. | |
| Dobson, Trin. | | Heath, Trin. | |
| Thompson, Trin. | | Grey, Hon. J. Trin. | |
| Venables, Jesus | | Forster, Cath. | |
| Wray, Joh. | | Ludlam, Pet. | |

SECOND CLASS.

| Ds. | | Ds. | |
|------------------|--|------------------|--|
| Fitzherbert, Qu. | | Chapman, Trin. | |
| Brade, Joh. | | Wentworth | |
| Bromby, Joh. | | Fitzwilliam, | |
| Martin, Joh. | | Hon. W. C. Trin. | |
| Panting, Joh. | | Borton, Caius | |

THIRD CLASS.

| Ds. | | Ds. | |
|-----------------|--|-----------------|--|
| Power, Clare | | Bowstead, Joh. | |
| Browne, Emm. | | Christie, Trin. | |
| Hodgson, Sid. | | Grove, Pemb. | |
| Consideue, Joh. | | Fysh, Qu. | |

ELECTIONS.

William Hallows Miller, Esq. M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, appointed Professor of Mineralogy.

Edwin Steventon, B.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, elected a Fellow of that society.

Thomas Walker, B.A. of Christ College, elected a Fellow of that society, on the foundation of Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Baines.

George Edward Paget, B.A. of Gonville and Caius Colleges, elected to a Senior Fellowship of that society, on the Norfolk foundation of Dr. Caius.

The Rev. Professor Musgrave, Fellow of Trinity College, elected a Senior of that society.

Robert Hindley Wilkinson, Esq. Scholar of King's College, to a Fellowship of that society.

George John Kennedy, Scholar of St. John's College, elected to an University Scholarship on Dr. Davies's foundation.

The Rev. St. John Wells Lucas, M.A. of Downing College, is appointed one of the Chaplains of that College, on the resignation of the Rev. Thomas Worsley.

The Rev. John James Blunt, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, is continued Hulsean Lecturer for the present year.

Frederick Hildyard, Esq. M.A. of Trinity College, appointed Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, in the room of the Rev. William Hildyard.

James Edward Dalton, Esq. B.A. of Queen's College, elected a Foundation Fellow of that society.

The Rev. John Croft, M.A. and Charles Otter, Esq. B.A. of Christ College, elected Foundation Fellows of that society.

Charles Lesingham Smith, Esq. B.A. Fellow of Christ College, on the foundation of Sir John Finch, and Sir Thomas Baines, elected a Fellow of the same society, on the foundation of King Edw. VI.

William Wigan Harvey and John Hibern, Scholars of King's College, elected Fellows of that society.

The Marquis of Granby, son of the Duke of Rutland, has been admitted of Trinity College.

GRACES.

The following Graces have passed the Senate:—

Feb. 8.

To grant out of the Fitzwilliam Fund the sum of 50*l.* as a subscription towards defraying a moiety of the expense of the drainage, which the Commissioners for Paving and Lighting the town of Cambridge propose to make in that part of Trumpington Street, where the Museum is intended to be erected.

Feb. 22.

That the Syndics appointed "to consider what steps may be necessary to be taken to accommodate the Professors of Chemistry and Anatomy with Lecture Rooms and Museums," be authorized to employ an architect, who shall furnish a plan and an estimate of expense for erecting a Museum and other rooms according to the recommendation of the Syndics in their report; and that before the end of the present term, they report upon the said plan and estimate to the Senate.

That there be granted out of the University Chest to Professor Clark the sum of 100*l.* 15*s.* which he has recently expended in the purchase of anatomical preparations; on condition that the said preparations become the property of the University.

In congregation this day a letter was read from the Rev. Mr. Whewell, late Professor of Mineralogy, signifying that he was desirous of presenting to the University his collection of minerals, a collection of books on mineralogy, and the sum of 100*l.* on condition of the University providing a room for the reception of the minerals.

Mar. 7.

At a congregation this day the following graces passed the Senate:—

That the Vice-Chancellor be authorized to communicate the thanks of the Senate to Mr. Whewell for his liberal offer to present to the University his Collection of Minerals, a Collection of Treatises on Mineralogy, and the sum of 100*l.* on condition that the University provide a suitable room for the reception of the Minerals.

That the Syndics appointed to procure a plan and estimate of expense for erecting Buildings for the accommodation of the Professors of Chemistry and Anatomy in the present Botanical Garden, be further authorized to consider and report to the Senate before the end of the present term, whether, by raising part of these intended buildings to a greater height, without any enlargement of the proposed site, a room can be provided suitable for the reception of the Minerals offered to be presented to the University by Mr. Whewell.

That on condition of Mr Edward Bell surrendering the Lease of the House,* which he now occupies, to the University at Lady-day next, the Vice-Chancellor be authorized to allow him out of the University Chest the sum of 53*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* being the amount of five quarters' rent which will be due from him at Lady-day next to the University; and also a further sum of 9*l.* 10*s.* for certain fixtures in the house; and that the Syndics of the Press be authorized to give directions for taking down the said house, and disposing of the materials, at such time after the surrender of the lease, and in such manner, as they shall consider expedient.

To authorize the Professor of Botany to expend a sum not exceeding 30*l.* in the purchase of a valuable collection of plants lately brought from the Western Shores of South America and the adjacent Islands, to be deposited in the Botanical Museum of the University.

The Syndicate appointed to inquire "Whether any and what Alterations can be made with advantage in the mode of Examination of Candidates for Mathematical Honors," have made the following report to the Senate:—

It appears desirable to increase the duration of the examination.

* The Lease is for seven years, commencing from December 21, 1829.

There are at present four days of examination in mathematics; on each of the two former the examination occupies 7½ hours, whilst on each of the two latter it occupies only 4 hours. It is recommended that in future there be five days of examination in mathematics, commencing on the Thursday preceding the first Monday in Lent term, and that the time of examination each day be 5½ hours.

By this arrangement 4½ hours will be added to the whole time of examination; and it is recommended that four of these additional hours be appropriated to the answering of questions from books, and the remaining half hour to the solution of problems, according to the plan subjoined.

It is further recommended that the candidates be arranged in four classes, determined, as at present, by the public exercises in these schools; but that during the first four days of the examination the same questions be proposed to all the classes.

That, as at present, the examination on the first day extends only to such parts of pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy as do not require the methods of the Differential Calculus.

That on the second and third days the questions from books include, in addition to the above subjects, the parts of Natural Philosophy somewhat more advanced, and the simpler applications of the Calculus.

That on the fourth day, the examination extend to subjects of greater difficulty, care however being taken that there be some questions suitable for the lower classes.

That on the fifth day, the classes be arranged for examination according to the plan subjoined.

That the questions proposed to all the classes on this day be fixed upon by the Moderators and Examiners in common; but that the duty of examining the answers to those questions be apportioned amongst the Moderators and Examiners, according to the plan.

That, as recommended by a former Syndicate, "there be not contained in any paper more questions than students well prepared have been generally found able to answer within the time allowed for that paper."

That the result of the examination be published in the Senate-House on the morning of the following Friday at eight

o'clock; but if it should happen that the relative merits of any of the candidates are not then determined to the satisfaction of the Moderators and Examiners, that

such candidates be re-examined on that day.

That this mode of examination commence in January, 1833.

PLAN OF EXAMINATION.

First, Second, Third, and Fourth Classes.

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---------------------------|
| (1) Thursday .. | { 9 to 11½ | Pure Mathematics | Jun. Mod. and Sen. Exam. |
| | { 1 to 4 | Natural Philosophy | Sen. Mod. and Jun. Exam. |
| (2) Friday | { 9 to 11½ | Natural Philosophy | Jun. Mod. and Sen. Exam. |
| | { 1 to 4 | Problems | Sen. Moderator. |
| (3) Saturday ... | { 9 to 11½ | Pure Mathematics | Sen. Mod. and Jun. Exam. |
| | { 1 to 4 | Problems | Jun. Moderator. |
| (4) Monday ... | { 9 to 11½ | Problems | Sen. and Jun. Moderators. |
| | { 1 to 4 | Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy } | Sen. and Jun. Examiners. |
| (5) Tuesday | { 9 to 11½ | 1st & 2d Classes, Pure Mathematics & Natural Philosophy, Sen. Moderator and Jun. Examiner. | |
| | { 3d & 4th Classes, Pure Mathematics & Natural Philosophy, Jun. Moderator and Sen. Examiner. | | |
| | { 1 to 4 | 1st Class, Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Sen. and Jun. Moderators. | |
| | | 2d & 3d Classes, Pure Mathematics & Natural Philosophy, Sen. and Jun. Examiners. | |
| | | 4th Class, Pure Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Sen. and Jun. Moderators. | |

PRIZES.

DR. SMITH'S PRIZES.

[Of 25*l.* each, to the two best proficient in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy among the Commencing Bachelors of Arts.]

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THE HULSEAN PRIZE.

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Subject:—"The Advantages which have resulted from the Christian Religion being conveyed in a narrative rather than a didactic form."

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Subject:—"The Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Revelation are not weakened by Time."

PRIZE SUBJECTS,

For the Present Year.

THE SEATONIAN PRIZE.

Subject:—"The Plague Stayed." (Num. xvi. 48.)

EXAMINATION SUBJECTS.

The following will be the subjects of Examination in the last week of the Lent term, 1833;—

1. "The Gospel of St. Luke."
2. "Paley's Evidences of Christianity."
3. "Xenophon's Agesilaus."
4. "Cæsar de Bello Gallico, Books V. and VI."

